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**The weather at major Swissair destinations**

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AMSTERDAM	08 14 17	03	17	47	63	Cloudy
BRUSSELS	10 16 22	05	22	41	72	Cloudy
PARIS	11 17 22	06	22	43	72	Cloudy

## HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

Friday, October 3, 1986 The Jerusalem Post Page Two

# Nurses won't strike — yet

By JUDY SIEGEL  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The hospital nurses last night promised not to repeat the abandonment of their hospital posts at least until after Rosh Hashana, but then

# Officials divided on Sharansky

By BENNY MORRIS and BERNARD JOSEPHS  
Jerusalem Post Reporters

Natan (Anatoly) Sharansky, mounting a crusade against Soviet oppression of its Jewish community, may become a sharp bone of contention between the Prime Minister's Office and the Foreign Ministry, sources in the Prime Minister's Office have said.

Speaking here and abroad in recent weeks, Sharansky has strongly advocated making meetings and the improvement of relations with the Soviets contingent on a major shift in Russia's policy on Jewish emigration. Moscow regards Sharansky's statements as an anti-Soviet propaganda campaign.

Officially, the Prime Minister's Office yesterday declined to criticize Sharansky, saying that "public campaigning and private diplomacy are not incompatible. There is room for both."

But in recent days sources in the office have reportedly

contrary to those of the officials in the unit in the Prime Minister's Office that deals with the problem of Soviet Jewry.

But in the Foreign Ministry, Sharansky's activities on behalf of Soviet Jewry are regarded as "positive," ministry sources said yesterday. "He is a free agent, he is not a ministry worker; he is free to say what he pleases. But the ministry has no complaints," one source said.

In Amsterdam on Wednesday, Sharansky by chance boarded the plane carrying Foreign Minister Shimon Peres back to Israel from his visit to New York. The two discussed each other's contributions to the cause of Soviet Jewry "in a very friendly spirit," the source said.

Meanwhile, Sharansky is expected to take up a post as a guest lecturer at New York's Yeshiva University next autumn, the institution's head said yesterday.

Sharansky will spend several weeks at the university lecturing on political science and Israeli-Soviet relations. Yeshiva University President Rabbi Norman Lamm, now visiting Jerusalem, said the course would be "built around Sharansky's views, whose personal

# Court slaps Sharon

The High Court of Justice yesterday accepted a statement from the State Attorney's Office that Minister of Industry and Trade Ariel Sharon's appointment of two commercial attaches to New York and Hamburg had been made illegally, and that new appointments were being made.

The High Court was dealing with the application of 15 senior ministry staff against the minister and his decision to appoint Reuven Shalom to the New York post and Moshe Ben Nathan to Hamburg.

Sharon personally was ordered to pay NIS 1,500 costs.

The State Attorney's Office admitted that the appointments had been approved by Sharon without its knowledge. Following the senior staffers' application to the High Court, the appointments had been ruled null and void and new procedures had been ordered to appoint other officials as attaches. The High Court accepted the state's undertaking that the matter was now being dealt with properly. (Itm)

# Spy fears at farm fair

TEL AVIV (Itm). — The presence at the Agrotech 86 farm technology fair of several visitors from Arab countries, and especially of one connected with a major farm project in Bahrain, has raised suspicions of industrial spying.

Rafi Glick, of the Israel Export Institute, has sent a memo to the Agriculture Ministry warning that the visitor from Bahrain was connected with a 1.5 million dunam project there in which Syria, Jordan and Iraq were partners. He warned that transferring Israeli know-how to such a project would create direct competition with Israel's exports.

Rafi Ramon, head of Agrotech 86 and director of the Ministry of Agriculture's farm mechanization and technology division, said that the ministry was astounded by the claims of industrial spying.

Ramon said that the fair's management was fully aware of the presence of a number of buyers from Arab countries who, "for understandable reasons," had asked not to be identified.

"We will honour their request and do so in similar cases in the future, too. I attach great importance to the export of Israeli farm technology to Arab countries, too," Ramon said.

But the Export Institute has circularized manufacturers of farm machinery warning them of the "self-defeating" aspects of selling their products, and Israeli technology in general, to other countries in the region which aggressively compete with Israel's farm exports.

## over holiday

But claiming they have made no headway in talks with the management, the television staff is working to rule and thus will not work more than 12 hours overtime per week.

The two sides are due to meet this morning to try to reach a compromise. Management agrees that the staff deserves more money, but says it cannot raise salaries without Treasury approval.

## Israeli helper

public hearing.

The question of a local lawyer to assist O'Connor is also one of finances. Had Demjanjuk not brought over O'Connor, who had handled his case in the U.S. for several years, the state would have had to supply him with a lawyer. But the state does not owe him a second lawyer to assist his foreign attorney.

Lawyer Haim Gross was incorrectly described in Tuesday's Post as O'Connor's assistant. Gross, an American lawyer who has been here for two years, said that O'Connor has asked him for some help with the language, which he had gladly given in a collegial spirit.

## routed

criticized President Herzog's remarks on a TV programme on Wednesday night, turning it improper for the president to use the authority of his office to urge action against a public body with which he differed politically.

They said they were considering launching a public campaign against "this tendency" on the part of the president. (Itm)

## Crash victim sues Egged

BEERSHEBA (Itm). — A 14 year old Petah Tikva girl who was seriously injured in the Habonim bus-train collision that killed 19 of her classmates and three adults, has sued Egged and the Hasneh Insurance Company for damages for her continued physical and mental suffering due to the accident.

In a suit filed yesterday in the District Court here, the girl and her parents claim that she was in good health and was a good student before the accident, but that since then she has developed a variety of ailments related to her injuries. They claim she suffers from fainting spells, nausea, loss of weight, loss of sense of taste and smell, pains in her arm and leg, impaired vision, sleeplessness, depression and anxiety.

They have asked the court to appoint an expert medical panel to award her damages for the suffering she has undergone and will endure in the future, and compensation for the NIS 18,050 her family has spent on medical and other needs related to her injuries.

Egged and Hasneh have not yet filed defence briefs.

## Shopping hysteria hits again

By AVI TEMKIN  
Post Economic Reporter

Israelis went on a spending spree on the eve of the High Holidays, bringing the level of imports of consumer durables and of consumer revenue from them to new heights.

According to Treasury figures published yesterday, 6,574 cars were imported last month, 60 per cent more than in the previous month, and more than three times the number of cars imported in September last year. Imports of videos (VCRs) rose to a record 4,200, 44 per cent more than in August. Some 3,846 dish-washers were also imported, 23 per cent more than last month.

But the Treasury linked the increase in spending to the High Holy-

## Rains to taper off today

By YITZHAK OKED  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

BEIT DAGAN. — The rainy weather of the past two days is expected to taper off today.

The duty officer at the weather forecasting centre here, Edith Rieger, told *The Jerusalem Post* that there would still be some scattered showers today. Tomorrow, the first day of Rosh Hashana, should be dry, but cloudy, with lower than average temperatures for this time of the year. On Sunday, the second day of the festival, skies should clear and temperatures will return to the seasonal average.

Rainfall over the last two days has been substantial. Kibbutz Hafez Haim (south-east of Gadera) was the wettest spot in the country with 102 mm. of rain, or about 20 per cent of its average annual rainfall. Jerusalem, with 47 mm., and the Golan, with 63 mm., have already received about 9 per cent of their yearly average.

Temperatures continued relatively low, with Safad the coldest spot with a maximum temperature of 13 degrees (average for this time of the year, 27 degrees), the maximum in Jerusalem was 18 degrees (27 degrees average) and the coastal area maximum was 23 degrees (29 degrees average).

The rains have been a mixed blessing to agriculture. Cotton and groundnut farmers, who are now harvesting their crops, have suffered damage whose extent is not yet known. But for observant farmers, who were rushing to plant before the *shmita* (biblically ordained fallow seventh year) year started, it has been a blessing. (See page 4)

## ROTATION

(Continued from Page One)

Galilee development towns.

Among the political appointments at issue is a successor to outgoing Civil Service Commissioner Avraham Natan, a Herut appointee. Labour Party Secretary-General Uzi Baram said yesterday that Labour would insist on a non-political appointment before the rotation to prevent the appointment of another Herut loyalist.

Likud satisfaction with the proximity of rotation and its feeling of security in the current negotiations have been dampened somewhat by the prospect of next week's special Knesset session.

The session will give Peres the opportunity of delivering a major foreign policy statement. According to Labour Party sources, he will reiterate Israel's willingness to participate in an international peace forum and to deal with a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

That would put the Likud in a bind. If it votes against the statement, much of which will no doubt be anathema to it, the Likud could well vote itself out of rotation.

If, on the other hand, it supports the statement, the Likud will have effectively committed itself to Peres's foreign policy for the next two years.

Peres has used the device of the Knesset statement effectively over the past two years. The Knesset's approval of his original "international auspices" statement is regularly trotted out by Peres and his spokesmen as an example of government approval of his foreign policy steps.

## DAVIS CUP

(Continued from Page One)

compared to Glickstein's 522. But, if he can push Hlasek to a five-set match, his capacity, fitness and stamina may make a joke of the form book.

If Hlasek wins, making the score 2-2, Amos Mansdorf will play the final match against Heinz-Gunthard who replaces the injured Roland Stadler. From the Swiss point of view, the big question mark is whether Gunthard will be fit enough for a marathon five-setter without tie-breakers, as he has not played much tournament tennis lately.

Gunthard played superlative tennis in the doubles. He told me that he would play the singles a point at a time. "It's going to be fun," he asserted with a smile.

Hlasek and Gunthard had no trouble whipping Glickstein and Shahar Perkiss 6-2, 6-4, 6-1 in a mere 70 minutes. They out-gunned, out-played, out-served, out-drove, out-volleyed and out-anticipated the Israelis. Gunthard showed why he is considered one of the finest doubles players in the world, operating with the perfection of a Rolls Royce.

Inspired by his example and leadership, Hlasek produced fierce shots in all directions with both forehand and backhand.

Glickstein seemed jaded, probably because of his prodigious effort in the singles. Perkiss did his best, but was out-classed by the Swiss.

Hlasek told me, "We played very good tennis. If you are two-nil down and have nothing to lose, you go into a match very relaxed. We simply didn't allow the Israelis to get into the match."

He added that he thinks they have a good chance still to take the singles because they were unlucky to have lost the opening matches.

The match is being played in a remarkably pleasant spirit. There have been no incidents worth recording.

## UK Labour votes for non-nuclear defence policy

BLACKPOOL (AFP). — The opposition Labour Party on yesterday swung behind party leader Neil Kinnock and adopted a non-nuclear defence policy.

The party's annual conference, meeting here, rejected a left-wing motion calling for the closure of all U.S. bases in the country and another calling for British withdrawal from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (Nato).

Although a Labour government would disarm Britain's four Polaris nuclear submarines and demand the closure of all U.S. nuclear bases in Britain, Kinnock told the conference earlier in the week that it would maintain non-nuclear U.S. bases in Britain.

General elections are to be held at the latest by June, 1988.

## SA ECONOMY

(Continued from Page One)

The envoy said in the interview that the Israel government had decided to take the offensive in rebutting widespread allegations that Israel was one of South Africa's major trading partners. This was part of Israel's current diplomatic campaign aimed at "breaking down the wall of isolation," especially between Israel and black African states.

"By constantly remaining on the defensive, we can't win," he said, noting that Israel was going after "the hearts and minds of one of the biggest blocs" at the United Nations — namely the black African nations.

Association of Turkish Immigrants in Israel

Heichal Yehuda Synagogue named in honour of Yehuda Leon and Matitya Recanati and in memory of the Jewish Community of Saloniki 13 Rehov Ben Saruk, Tel Aviv

On the thirtieth day after the murder of our 21 brethren in the Neveh Shalom Synagogue in Istanbul, there will be a

## MEMORIAL ASSEMBLY

with the participation of:

Israel's Chief Rabbis, rabbis, ministers, Knesset members, public figures and Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Education and Culture, Mr. Yitzhak Navon, and Minister of Industry and Trade, Mr. Ariel Sharon

The memorial service will be held on Tzom Gedalyahu, Monday, October 6, 1986, Tishri 3, 5747, at 4:00 p.m. promptly, at the Heichal Yehuda synagogue, 13 Rehov Ben Saruk, Tel Aviv (behind the Shekem store on Ibn Gvirol)

The memorial will be followed by mincha and maariv prayers

The public is asked to pay its respects to the memory of the victims of the massacre and to participate in the memorial service

Transportation: Buses nos. 24, 25, 26, 61, 63, 89, 92, 174

the passing of our beloved

## YORAM MOHILEVER

there will be a graveside memorial service on Monday, October 6, 1986, at 3:00 p.m. at Nahlat Yitzhak cemetery

Mohilever, van Leer, Katz, Korfine and Jonvitt Families

We wish to thank all those who offered their condolences

To all those who participated in my sorrow on the demise of my beloved husband:

## KARL BUXBAUM

(formerly: Teplitz-Schonau)  
My sincere thanks

Irma Buxbaum

To our colleague DAN NADEL and his family on the 30th day after the passing of his father

## ARIE LEIB

our sincere condolences

Hazera Seeds Ltd. Management and Staff

A memorial service for our beloved

## GAIL MAUER

a year after her passing, will be held on Thursday, October 9, 1986 (6 Tishrei) at 5:00 p.m. at the Kiryat Arba yeshiva.

A room will be dedicated in her name. Bus no. 60, from the Central Bus Station, Jerusalem.

Dr. Ivan Mauer and Family

A memorial service for

## Dr. SIDNEY WEISSMAN

will be held on Tuesday, October 7, 1986, at 3:30 p.m. at the Kfar Etzion Cemetery.







# Solar power to get a big new boost

By BERNARD JOSEPHS  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A big boost for solar power is being planned by the Energy Ministry with the opening of a research centre where scientists from all over the world are to be invited to examine ways to use the sun's rays.

The centre planned for Sde Boker is to be named after David Ben-Gurion. Plans for its establishment are to be announced by Energy Minister Moshe Shalal at the International World Energy Congress in Cannes, France, next week.

The establishment of the centre, and re-

newed interest in alternative energy sources, appears to signal a change in the ministry's policy.

The rise in oil prices together with concern about the safety of nuclear energy projects, have sparked renewed interest in power sources once considered marginal.

In addition ministry officials have been deeply impressed by the success of the Jerusalem firm Luz, whose solar energy system is now providing electricity to thousands of homes in California.

A call for international cooperation in developing solar power is expected to be the

key-note in Shalal's speech to the congress. He will tell delegates from dozens of nations, many of which have no relations with Israel, that Jerusalem is willing to assist and cooperate with any country so that "solar energy can ease the energy crisis faced by many states."

The research centre, one of the most advanced of its kind, should be open in a matter of months, said an Energy Ministry source yesterday. It will provide a site for the testing of solar energy technologies, and will be open to scientists of all countries.

An Energy Ministry spokesman denied

yesterday that Shalal would be meeting with French officials to discuss the purchase of a nuclear reactor.

Although talks between Israel and France have been going on for some time over such a deal, the chances of it coming off appear to be fading.

Energy officials in Jerusalem now tend to favour the use of a new generation of mini-reactors, expected to come into production at the start of the next century.

These, they say, will be safer and more efficient than the type of conventional reactor which was discussed with the French.

## The loud, low-down north

Sometimes, in classified ads for housing, it's called "the quiet north." For the people who live there, however, it's noisy and dirty, and the last thing they call it quiet.

Yirmiyahu it's called, though the area stretches out in several directions from Rehov Yirmiyahu, which 15 years ago was a quiet little street of grocery stores, electrician's shops and one fancy restaurant that changed ownership about once a year.

That was 15 years ago. Since then, a lot has changed. All-night outdoor restaurants, bars, pubs, saloons, night clubs, and humorous joints - alongside a couple of book stores, a sex boutique, a pinball arcade - have turned this corner of Tel Aviv just south of the Yarkon River into one of the city's major entertainment districts.

And in it all live 8,000 people who have trouble finding places to park, trouble finding the quiet to sleep, trouble finding a stretch of sidewalk not littered with garbage - or worse - when they go out to work in the morning.

The irony is that an area twice the size of the Yirmiyahu district - which now stretches in a rough triangle cornered by Nordau and Ben-Yehuda, Nordau and Dizengoff and Dizengoff and Ben-Yehuda - is waiting, for a developer, forlorn and abandoned and only a half-minute walk away from the heart of the thriving restaurant and nightclub district.

Tel Aviv's port, built by Greek Jews as a Zionist alternative to the Jaffa port, is a huge expanse of empty warehouses just waiting for the investors who might turn it into the jewel in Tel Aviv's nightlife crown.

About once a year there are re-

**Tel Aviv Tel Aviv**  
**Robert Rosenberg**

ports that some investors are getting it together to develop the 220-dunam area, which includes the old port, the old exhibition grounds, and the Macabiah stadium.

Ownership of the area is, as usual, a bureaucratic nightmare. Government agencies, City Hall companies and even some private properties shared by dozens of heirs to shares bought 50 years ago by Tel Avivians who no doubt invested as much for the ideology as for the belief in the investment - it's a tangle that is guaranteed to frighten off even the most courageous entrepreneur.

There are, of course, big plans in City Hall for the port: a combination restaurant-theatre-nightclub district with a marina and a few cinemas and even a small residential complex - all linked with the park that extends eastward to Ganei Yehoshua.

But City Hall isn't in the entertainment business and anyway wants to see the entire area developed en bloc, and not as a privately initiated patchwork.

According to Eliezer Amitai, who heads the Atarim Company, the city corporation responsible for the development of Tel Aviv's seaside, a detailed plan for the full-scale development of the area will be handed to the local planning commission "within the next few months," and by next year, the district commission will have its chance to study the plans. After that, entrepreneurs will finally get a chance to get in on the action.

But the city's good intentions don't prevent people with plans of their own to make declarations, if not take action.

Haim Katzman, a north Tel Aviv lawyer, is the latest entrepreneur claiming to be ready to make something out of the port area.

Katzman organized a neighbourhood committee, which put together a petition signed by 800 residents of the Yirmiyahu district, who are demanding that the city repeal a plan legitimizing Yirmiyahu as an entertainment district and move the nightlife into the port area.

Katzman also claims to represent some South African investors who, it is said, have already toured the old port and are putting together an investment plan.

According to city officials, no plan has been proposed to the city engineer's office, the first stage in the development of any property.

The lower and members of the neighbourhood committee recently appeared at the Interior Ministry District Planning Commission, the council that decides on zoning and development in Tel Aviv. It was a stormy session, with unsubstantiated accusations of city naughtiness flying in the air.

City Hall's representative at the session promised that the city would reconsider its zoning regulations, which allowed the nightclubs to develop in the area. But the city representatives also pointed out that the High Court of Justice has already vindicated City Hall's zoning of the area as a combination residential and entertainment district.

So meanwhile, the warehouses that could be discotheques and movie theatres, restaurants and nightclubs, stand empty. And in the quiet north, it gets noisier and noisier, later and later into the night.

## BUS ADS ON THE ROTATION PR or provocation?

By YITZBAK OKED  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. - The question of whether there will be a rotation in the premiership has been adapted for a teasing advertising campaign that has puzzled and provoked citizens throughout the country.

Buses in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa are bearing big white signs with black letters in Hebrew saying "Yes, there will be a rotation," while others carrying signs saying: "No there will not be a rotation."

Eli Warshavsky, general manager of the Golden Wheels advertising firm, which has the concession for placing ads in buses, told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that his company was not the initiator of the campaign. But he said that since the ads began appearing last Friday, his phone had not stopped ringing both at work and at home.

Warshavsky said that a client had ordered the ads, and had insisted that Golden Wheels not reveal the name of the advertiser, the number

of buses involved or when the campaign will end.

What Warshavsky is allowed to reveal is that there is an equal number of positive and negative rotation signs.

Warshavsky was also not willing to reveal whether the advertiser was a commercial firm or a political organization.

Warshavsky said that he was surprised at the great interest the ads had attracted. He added that he had learned that people tend to see what they want to see.

"Those who oppose the rotation for some reason have only seen the 'Yes, there will be rotation' advertisement, and vice versa. We've been counting the angry phone calls," he said.

Some persons in favour of the rotation have spray-painted the No from some signs, so that it will read "There will be a rotation." Many bus drivers are annoyed as well, Warshavsky said. Some, he said, have tried to peel the signs off.

## Farms still thirsty

By JOEL REBIBO  
For The Jerusalem Post

NEGEV farmers took no comfort from this week's downpour, because even one or two good rainy seasons will not relieve Israel's severe water shortage.

According to Giora Dori, head of land development for the Jewish National Fund in the south, it will take at least five or six good rainy seasons to make up for the staggering 1.8 billion cu. m. water "overdraft."

In the meantime, Negev farmers, who this week were informed that they could no longer count on the national water carrier for irrigation, are seeking alternative water sources. One such substitute is a reservoir under construction in Kedma.

Kedma is an area where several Gush Etzion kibbutzim are growing cotton, wheat and corn. Nearby is a vast gorge in the earth, all that is left of a quarry that was worked for more than 35 years to build the town of Kiryat Malachi.

The massive pit is being turned into a reservoir that will hold some 600,000 cu. m. of water and irrigate 5,000 dunams. It will be filled with sewage water treated in a nearby plant, recycled factory water, rain run-off and overflow from streams.

"We're trying to take advantage of water that is being wasted and to avoid using fresh water for irrigation," said Moshe Veltman, a representative of three Gush Etzion kibbutzim. "We believe such steps are in the national interest."

The kibbutzim - Rosh Tsurim, Migdal Oz and Kfar Etzion - are paying a third of the reservoir's NIS 305,000 costs, because they know the water crisis will get worse before it gets better.

Cuts in irrigation water from the past year cost them 50 per cent of their potential wheat crop and 20 per cent of their cotton.

"With this water we will be able to irrigate an extra 1,500 dunams, and do so in a more organized way," he explained. "We can increase our yield and subsequently our exports."

The reservoir will measure 325 by

260m. and will be 10 metres deep at its deepest point. The government is covering a third of its cost, and the Jewish National Fund is providing the last third through manpower and equipment.

David Peretz supervises the 25-man JNF crew that comes each day from Beit Shemesh and Tel Aviv to build the 85-dunam reservoir. Using huge earth movers, the crew is shifting some 200,000 cu. m. of soil to build the reservoir's walls. "Sheep feet," heavy-duty equipment with rollers that pound the earth into a compact surface, will keep the water from seeping away.

"The beauty of this project is that it will rejuvenate the land that was battered for so many years," said Peretz, who supervised a similar project at Yavne. His crew began work on August 20 and is scheduled to complete the reservoir by October 20.

Sitting in his office at the JNF southern region headquarters near Beit Shemesh, Giora explained the significance of a 1.8 billion cu. m. overdraft.

"We have been living beyond our means for about 10 years," he said. "1.8 billion cu. m. represents one full year's consumption. We have been borrowing from underground wells - which provide 70 per cent of our water. But we have pumped so much fresh water that salt water has seeped in, and many wells have had to be closed. In other cases the water level has dropped below the pumps."

Farmers felt the shortages even before this week's announcement by the Mekorot water authority of no more Kinneret water. Some 300,000 dunams went unplanted this year because water allocations were cut by 150 million cu. m.

But Giora pointed to other potential sources of water. Beneath the Arava is "fossil" water that could be mined, and flash floods that could be captured with a series of dams, he said.

The JNF also intends to mark the 100th birthday of David Ben-Gurion by doubling its budget for Negev development.

## Bezek refund for faulty phones

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Bezek, the state-owned telecommunications company, will refund or rebate part of the bi-monthly service fee if a subscriber's phone remains out of order for a long time or for short but repeated periods.

This new "subscriber's right" was announced yesterday by Communications Minister Amnon Rubinstein in a list of other obligations to Bezek clients.

The service fee, usually some NIS 14, is to be refunded with interest, or

credited to the next bill when the credit will be calculated in proportion to the number of days the phone was not working.

Bezek also announced that it would accept appeals against very high phone bills, and that the company's director-general would deal with them personally.

In the Golden Pages, Bezek also stated that it would publish a phone directory in Arabic every three years.



Inmates at Neveh Tirtzah Prison have been preparing themselves spiritually for the New Year this year. (Yisrael Talbi)

## It's Rosh Hashana in the prisons, too

By HAIM SHAPIRO  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

As Jews throughout the world prepare to celebrate Rosh Hashana, they might well consider a singular act of lovingkindness performed by a small group of inmates at Neveh Tirtzah prison for women.

The inmates have not been able to take part in most of the preparations for Rosh Hashana, but 22 of them did participate in a three-day seminar organized by Rabbi Abraham Eisenbach of the Organization for Spiritual Rehabilitation of Prisoners.

Eisenbach told *The Jerusalem Post* that during the three days discussions and audio-visual programmes, they concentrated on commandments relating to relations between human beings. "We tried to show them that well-being is a relative matter, and that for someone in a very bad state, even a little improvement can mean well-being."

The participants were chosen, he said, according to those the staff considered "capable of sitting and concentrating for three days." But he was told that the entire prison was exceptionally calm during the days the programme was under way, and in at least one instance, a group of the participants came to the chief

guard and told her they would accept a previously ostracized inmate into their cell.

Thousands of other Israelis meanwhile will be marking the holiday in synagogues or temporary prayer halls, while others will be going to the beach or picnic sites.

The hotels of Eilat are already fully booked, but sudden onslaught of autumn in the north over the past few days will cause countless others to camp on the beaches of the Red Sea resort.

Because the first day of the holiday is Shabbat, the *shofar*, or ram's horn, calling its listeners to repentance, will be sounded only on Sunday. The *tashlich* ceremony, in which worshippers walk to the nearest body of water to symbolically cast their sins into the sea, will also be deferred until Sunday afternoon.

Markets have been jammed with shoppers buying food for the holiday, while other shopping areas have been packed with those buying new holiday clothes, especially for children. Eggs have been arranged for extra hours to run today and after the end of the holiday on Sunday night.

In a message for the holiday, the country's chief rabbi spoke of their concern at what they consider to be a spiritual crisis in the country.



Shulamit Shamir, wife of the foreign minister, hosts a Rosh Hashana reception in Jerusalem yesterday for wives of ambassadors. From left are Mrs. Shamir, Mrs. Botende of Zaire, Mrs. Boni of Ivory Coast, and Mrs. Pearson of Liberia. (Sagor 87)

## A toast to New Year

By GREER FAY CASHMAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Diplomatic wives representing 32 embassies, including those of Egypt, Zaire, Panama and the Ivory Coast, yesterday congregated at the home of Foreign Minister Shamir and his wife Shulamit to toast the Jewish New Year.

In response to Shulamit Shamir's greetings, they raised their champagne glasses and chorused, in Hebrew, *Shana Tova, L'Haim*.

Speaking on behalf of her fellow wives, Connie de Geredé Asturias, wife of the Guatemalan ambassador, who is dean of the diplomatic corps, said that the reception had given

them the opportunity to come close to Shulamit Shamir, "who is the representative of hard-working Israeli women." Asturias hoped that the new year would strengthen the bonds of friendship between Israel and those countries with which it has relations.

Elizabeth Merillees, wife of the Australian ambassador, expressed sorrow that President and Mrs. Herzog would have little opportunity to tour Australia during their upcoming six-day visit. The president's schedule was so tight that he would have no time to visit Tasmania, home of the country's oldest Jewish congregation, she said.

## Greece and Israel to cooperate in tourism

By GREER FAY CASHMAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Greece and Israel are to launch a joint campaign to attract American tourists who avoid visiting their countries because of fears of terrorism. Kostas Kyriazis, president of the Greek Tourist Organization (EOT) has confirmed in Athens.

Tourist sources said Greece lost about \$350 million last year when American tourists stayed away following two hijackings out of Athens and tension in the Mediterranean.

Kyriazis said the campaign, financed equally by EOT and its Israeli counterpart, would include study tours to Greece and Israel by American writers and journalists. Travel agents are expected to start offering combined holidays to Greece and Israel from next year, he said.

A \$400,000 joint promotional fund has been established to promote the two-country packages.

The agreements are the outcome of a visit here last week by a Greek delegation.

A participant in the discussions, although not officially a member of the delegation, was Dimitri Nicolaides, president of the Greece-Israel League, who had helped prepare Tourism Minister Avraham Shurir's visit to Greece in May.

Nicolaides said he has felt at home in Israel since his first visit here in 1970. The Israeli character is similar to that of the Greeks, he said. With 92 previous visits behind him, he has contacts in all spheres of the country and speaks a passable Hebrew.

Now living in Athens, Nicolaides was born and raised in Salonika where many of his friends were Jewish. He recalled friends of his youth who were rounded up by the Nazis and sent to Auschwitz. "I lost many friends," he almost whispered, and then returned to his usual boisterous self.

The Greece-Israel League was founded in 1954 to advance friendship between the two countries. Although most of its members are Christians, a few Jews are involved. The league circulates a

monthly newsletter on aspects of Israel, mostly gleaned from the Israeli diplomatic mission in Athens.

The main purpose of his current trip was to introduce farmers from Crete to their Israeli counterparts with a view to a joint export venture to Europe. This is what Nicolaides said he enjoys most - bringing Greeks and Israelis together to create something of mutual benefit.

Projects he anticipated in the future are joint exhibits highlighting the ancient sites of the two countries. The exhibits will go on display in the U.S.

One request made by the Greek delegation that will be difficult to honour is the cancellation of travel tax for Israelis travelling to Greece.

Israel, on the other hand, had asked that less stringent limitations be placed by the Greek authorities on the amount of foreign currency Greek travellers may bring to Israel. Israel also asked for Greek assistance in the development of marinas. Members of the Greek delegation believed there was a strong likelihood that this request would be met.

## Twelve-year legal battle won to gain recognition as Jew

Mordechai Koch, 33, of Rosh Ha'ayin yesterday won a 12-year legal battle to be recognized as a Jew when the Interior Ministry informed the High Court that it was prepared to register him and his mother as Jews.

Koch was born in the Soviet Union, where his family was persecuted by anti-Semites. He was brought to Israel by his parents when he was 12, and the family were all registered as Jews and received Israeli citizenship. But in 1974, while Koch was in the

army, he was told that the Interior Ministry had revoked his citizenship and registered him as "Christian" in his identity card.

Koch was then prevented by the Interior Ministry from marrying his fiancée in this country, while the Tel Aviv Rabbinical Court refused to "convert" him.

After completing his military service, which included the Yom Kippur War, Koch appealed to the courts, arguing that at no time had he been given a reason for the revoking of his citizenship.

## Teachers get pay rise

TEL AVIV. - Teachers are to receive an 11.5 per cent pay increase, 7 per cent from September 1986 and the rest starting next April, according to the Histadrut Teachers Union.

The Histadrut union claims that this agreement has already been initiated, but the Secondary School Teachers Association insists that negotiations are continuing and that no agreement has yet been reached.

## Hebrew Braille magazine is 20

TEL AVIV. - The Centre for the Blind in Israel on Monday celebrated the 20th anniversary of the monthly Hebrew Braille magazine, *Oron*.

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The dedication this week of an Ashkelon square in memory of Sultan Mohammed V of Morocco has reopened controversy about his attitude to the Jews and his role in World War II. The Post's Diplomatic Correspondent BENNY MORRIS looks at the record and finds that although Mohammed, father of the present king, Hassan, opposed Zionism, he was 'protectionist' towards his Jewish subjects.



Moroccan 'mellah' scene



Tu B'Shvat meal in Rabat

(Ben Barber)

## The sultan and the Jews

RECENT RESEARCH has confirmed the traditional Moroccan Jewish view of Sultan Mohammed V, who ruled Morocco from 1927 to 1961, as a benefactor of the Jewish community and has undermined charges that he was a Nazi collaborator or secret ally during World War II.

The charges cropped up this week in connection with the dedication of a main square in Ashkelon in the sultan's honour with critics arguing or implying the inappropriateness of the event given Mohammed V's alleged anti-Jewish role during 1941-42.

But the major French historian of the modern Maghreb, Charles André Julien, in his *Le Maroc, Face aux Impérialismes*, completely cleared Mohammed V of anti-Semitic collaboration, and contemporary Israeli researchers have confirmed Julien's judgement.

Researcher Yaron Tsur, of the Open University, says that all the Maghrebi nationalist leaders were essentially bent on liberation from the French colonialist yoke, and to achieve that end, were willing to befriend, align with, outside forces, be it the Axis powers or the Americans. Tunisia's liberator, Habib Bourguiba, for example, lived through part of World War II in Axis Italy, a fact usually obfuscated in modern Tunisian historiography.

"But there is no solid evidence at all that Mohammed V was a German agent or collaborator," says Tsur.

UNTIL 1956, Morocco was a French protectorate, with the major political decisions being made in Paris and Vichy or by the French resident. The sultan's powers were extremely limited, and in major spheres of policy — foreign affairs, defence — nonexistent. Mohammed V was the symbolic leader of Moroccan nationalist aspirations and as such, perennially came into conflict with the French authorities, who in 1953 forced him to leave the country. In 1955 he returned to Morocco, becoming its de jure and de facto ruler only with independence in 1956.

In spring 1941, the Vichy authorities imposed a set of anti-Jewish, racist laws in Morocco. Mohammed V, as was the custom, had to formally sign the *dahir*, the order to implement these regulations. "But this by no means signified his agreement with these laws. On the contrary, there is evidence to show that Mohammed V actively opposed the application of these laws to Morocco and went out of his way, at that time, to underline his continued policy and attitude of protection and non-

discrimination vis-a-vis the Jewish community," says Tsur.

A cable, discovered recently by Dr. David Cohen, another researcher of North African Jewish history, supports this view. The cable was sent on May 24, 1941 by a French journalist in Morocco to the Vichy authorities in France. The journalist reported "tension" between Mohammed V and the resident, Paul Nogues, over the implementation of the race laws, which the sultan opposed. The sultan, according to the report, had stressed to the resident his continued faith in the loyalty of his Jewish subjects and said that they continued to deserve his protection.

Mohammed V went out of his way to signal this by inviting the notables of the Jewish community to sit in prominent seats on his bandstand, alongside French officials, during the royal festivities that year. In previous years, these notables were not invited to the celebrations, the Jews being deemed by Moroccan nationalists "pro-French."

Cohen's research also found that the sultan's bureaucracy (*makhzan*) tried hard to restrict the scope of the implementation of the race laws before the *dahir* was promulgated. Cohen adds that Nogues himself was not an ardent Vichyite when it came to applying the race laws, though Mohammed V appears to have been even less keen about them.

However, Tsur adds that it is impossible to determine, on the basis of the available evidence, whether Mohammed V's opposition to the implementation of the race laws stemmed from sympathy for the Jews or a wish to quarrel with the French, born of traditional anti-colonial feelings.

WHILE THE Moroccan Jews, as a result of the race laws, suffered removal from the civil service, numerous *clausus*, and other forms of professional and academic discrimination, they were never in physical danger during the Vichy years. The race laws were applied more stringently in Algeria though less so in Tunisia. Tsur says that Mohammed V's attitude to the Jews, before, during and after World War II must be understood in the light of traditional Moslem strictures regarding treatment of Jews. That tradition, rooted in the Koran, held that the Jews deserved, and should receive, the sultan's patronage and protection as long as they paid taxes and accepted Moslem rule. According to Tsur, this tradition also determined Mohammed V's attitudes during

World War II, though given French dominance, the sultan's ability to implement or even affect policy was severely limited.

The sultan's attitude to the Jews was also determined, at least in part, by his intimate relations with the wealthy leaders of the Jewish community, who were useful to the royal house economically and, on occasion, diplomatically. These Jewish notables lobbied for the community, affecting the Sultan's attitudes.

TSUR ADDS that in later years, when Mohammed V became the independent ruler of the kingdom, it became a Jewish interest and deliberate policy to magnify and glorify the sultan's role as benefactor during the war. A speech by Charles Ben-Simhon, a teacher from Marrakesh, delivered in the Alliance school in Paris in 1957 (quoted in Dr. Michael Laskier's *Alliance-Israélite Universelle and the Jews of Morocco*), was typical. Ben-Simhon said: "More than the natives say, the one single sentiment which we cherish in our hearts is the deep love of Mohammed V. The Jews of Morocco are eternally grateful for what the monarch has done for them. Since his ascension to the throne, his majesty has not for one moment ceased to reveal his paternal sympathy for us... During the hardest hours of the Jewish people, when France issued its racial laws at Vichy, it was he and he alone who came to our defence and bravely resisted the anti-Jewish manifestations in Morocco."

Mohammed V was the independent ruler of Morocco from independence until his death in 1961. During the earlier years, the Jews had been caught in a typical colonial dilemma, existing in a no-man's land

between the French rulers and the Arab ruled, who were increasingly aspiring to independence. The Jews tended to seek and obtain French "protection" but shied away from full identification with the colonial rulers lest they incur the ire of the Arab population. The Jewish community's situation was simplified, in this sense, with the French departure.

In conformity with his Arab nationalist views and his view of the Jews as loyal subjects, Mohammed V strongly opposed Zionism and Moroccan Jewish immigration to Israel. From 1956, immigration to Israel was illegal. One of Mohammed V's first acts, after returning from exile in 1955, was to expel all the Zionist emissaries who had organised the *aliya*. While the French still ruled, from 1948-55, such migration was "semi-legal" and was opposed by the sultan. This in part stemmed from the Moroccan nationalist movement's sensitivity to events in Palestine.

During the anti-Jewish rioting in Morocco's main cities in 1948, triggered by events in Palestine, Mohammed V expressed his traditional "protectionist" attitude by trying to cool tempers and verbally protect the Jews.

Tsur says that Mohammed V's attitude to the Jews conformed with and was a continuation of his predecessors' traditional policies, which were based on Koranic strictures and were affected by court Jews' lobbying. Of course, the Koran could be applied "strictly" or "benignly," says Tsur. Occasionally, as under Sultan Yazid (1790-92), Jews were brutally treated. But usually, they enjoyed the sultan's protection, albeit as "inferior" subjects, in return for their loyalty.



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# Ashkelon: The sound and the fury signify little

Abraham Rabinovich assesses the disturbances

AS THE ROAR of a hostile crowd of Israelis of Moroccan extraction engulfed Prime Minister Shimon Peres last Sunday in Ashkelon, it seemed that the tomato-throwing of previous Peres's campaigns had unexpectedly returned — a phenomenon of disaffected masses that symbolized a dangerously deep split between Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews.

That thought alone would have been sufficient to account for the pained look on the face of Peres, who had had cause to hope that his two years in the premiership had buried his negative image among Sephardi Jews and reduced ethnic divisiveness in general. There were other thoughts that could have accounted for his unhappiness as well — particularly, the implications for the peace process of the hysterical demonstration against the dedication of a square honouring the late Moroccan king, Mohammed V.

The initial reaction of a reporter covering the event was that it had far more symbolism, most of it discouraging, than the organizers of the dedication of Peace Square had planned. Reflection, however, suggests that the seemingly portentous storm was a fury signifying little.

Peres was not the principal target of the demonstrators — neither in the signs prepared by the Tehiya Party which focused primarily on Moroccan-born politicians such as Knesset Member Rafi Edri or, more significantly, in the spontaneous chants of the crowd. "Eli Dayan, ben zana" (son of a bitch), was the main theme of the rhythmic chants, an epithet directed against the young, Moroccan-born Ashkelon mayor blamed by the crowd for delaying the funeral of the Ashkelon man killed the day before in Gaza. Dayan, said angry demonstrators, had violated the honour of the dead man and the grief of the family in order not to mar the ceremony.

## An emotional reaction

Dayan's denial of this charge was not publicly heard until after the ceremony got underway, and by then it was too late to cool passions. The delay, he said, had been caused by a court-ordered autopsy, not by an administrative decision.

IF THE demonstration was not an anti-Ashkenazi, anti-Peres, anti-Labour outpouring, what did it say about the receptivity of the broad Israeli public to peace with the Arabs? Very little. The great bulk of the crowd's opposition to the dedication of the city's main intersection to an Arab monarch was a specific emotional reaction to the murder of their fellow townsman, Haim Azran, by an Arab in Gaza the day before and the postponement of his funeral because of a ceremony on behalf of an Arab king.

Had it not been for the murder, local residents appeared to agree, there would have been opposition to the dedication anyway but at a much more moderate level. This opposition was already being organized before the murder by Tehiya and pro-Kahane activists, and it clearly fed on a measure of innate hostility to Arabs and to the notion of peace with the Arabs that exist within the local population.

## Limited number of demonstrators

Sunday's demonstration offered no clear indication of the extent or of the depth of such feeling since it was primarily a reaction to the murder and delayed funeral. However, the fact that the demonstrators, however emotional, numbered only several hundred in a city of 55,000 could be taken to mean that the extent of anti-Arab feeling is limited. Conversation with members of the crowd indicated that the depth of such feeling is limited, too, at least as regards Morocco and Mohammed V. One opponent of the square's renaming suggested that it would have been all right if some less prominent corner of the town had been chosen. Another man said he held Mohammed V in high regard but that the time was not yet right for such a gesture, since there was not yet general peace with the Arabs.

Little noted by observers at the ceremony was the fact that despite the shouting crowds, several hundred residents, almost as many as the demonstrators, were quietly watching the proceedings in the shadows on the opposite side of the ceremony site from the demonstration and evidently identifying with it.

Mayor Dayan was an impressive presence, unimpressed by the shouting crowds. He exaggerated, however, when he said the crowd was made up of "rabble" brought in from out of town by outside agitators. The bulk of the demonstrators were plainly local people. There was a clear class difference — almost a racial difference — in the appearance of the working-class Moroccan demonstrators outside the ceremony site and the middle and upper class Moroccans inside, including those who had come from Morocco itself. An unexpected source of encouragement came from the entertainment programme. The troupe of local folk dancers and the superb tenor singing Oriental-style songs, backed by a local oud ensemble, reflected an impressive level of culture achieved by the second generation in an immigrant town.

If the organizers of the dedication of Peace Square honouring Mohammed V had gotten somewhat ahead of the public mood, it was in a noble cause. Sunday's events, moreover, offer no reason for thinking that they were very far ahead of that mood.



Protesters jeer Prime Minister Peres as he speaks at the dedication of the Mohammed V Square in Ashkelon this week. (Reuters)



A neighbourhood activist in Jerusalem, in a gesture of conciliation, covers street signs at Jerusalem's Zion Square with a notice designating it unofficially as 'Haim Azran and King of Morocco, friend of the Jews, Square.' (Rahamim Israeli)

## Walter Ruby writes from New York

### Activists for Soviet Jews look to summit

NEW YORK. — Leaders of the U.S. Soviet Jewry movement have decided to increase their activities in the light of the forthcoming summit meeting in Reykjavik.

They will hold a leadership assembly in Washington next Wednesday, when they will discuss ways to urge President Reagan to put pressure on Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in regard to emigration for Soviet Jews. They have also decided to send a small delegation to the Icelandic capital, but are as yet unsure as to whether to encourage demonstrations there.

According to Morris Abram, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, and president of the National Conference On Soviet Jewry: "Our meeting in Washington will not be a massive demonstration, but an expression of support for the President. We will express our confidence that he will fulfil the responsibility that he has undertaken to open the gates for Jewish emigration."

Abram said that on the eve of Yom Kippur, which falls on the second day of the two-day Reykjavik summit, rabbis across the U.S. will be encouraged to sermonize on the issue of Soviet Jewry. In the days

preceding the summit, advertisements will be placed in major American newspapers, expressing support for what Abram terms President Reagan's "consistent and clear" position on the Soviet Jewry issue.

Abram said he also hopes to meet with Reagan before the President departs for Reykjavik to express the Jewish community's position on the Soviet Jewry issue.

Abram, who is said to be a close personal friend of Schultz, says he remains optimistic that the Reykjavik meeting is only a "preparatory" summit and will be followed within several months by a full-scale summit in Washington. Abram said the Soviet Jewry movement will con-

tinue to organize for a massive march on Washington on behalf of Soviet Jews whenever the Washington summit takes place.

According to Abram: "I believe President Reagan will make the way the Soviet Union reacts to (the Soviet Jewry issue) a litmus test of the degree of the Soviet Union's desire for good relations with the West."

Glenn Richter, executive director of the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, questioned Abram's optimistic attitude. "No one knows if there really will be a Washington summit soon after Reykjavik, so I wonder about the strategy of treating Iceland as not a full summit. The Soviet Jewry groups believe they have an 'in' at the White House they don't want to jeopardize. Nobody wants to challenge the Administration to take a stronger stand on Soviet Jewry, although there is plenty of evidence that the Administration will only go so far on this issue."

Richter and other Soviet Jewry activists have long expressed concern that while Reagan will almost surely raise the Soviet Jewry issue with Gorbachev during the summit, he may not press the Soviet leader hard for concessions on the issue.

## Pentagon report details lack of overall strategy

### U.S. bureaucracy hinders terror

BUREAUCRATIC infighting and the inability of American leaders and agencies to understand unconventional warfare is leaving the United States unprepared to deal with terrorism and guerrilla conflicts, a Pentagon study says.

"The peculiar nature of low-intensity conflict, the diversity and murkiness of the individual and collective threats, the uncertainty as to our own role and purpose, and conflicting views and varied institutional interests create an atmosphere that encourages confusion and inaction at best, mistake and blunder at worst," said a report prepared over the last year by a joint team from the army and air force.

"Many government departments and agencies of the U.S. fail to comprehend the nature" of low-intensity conflict, a term used to include terrorism and guerrilla warfare of the type being waged in Central America, the Middle East and the Philippines, the report said.

There are no plans to publicly release the document, although a copy was made available to the Associated Press.

Since it took office, the Reagan Administration has quadrupled, from about \$400 million to \$1.6 billion, spending for special operations forces, including the army's Green Berets and navy's Seals. But critics say the special operations forces are scattered among the four services and resented by mainstream military officials who have no training in unconventional warfare. Proposals are pending on Capitol Hill to unify all the special forces within a single organization umbrella.

HOWEVER, the problem is larger than the organization of special operations forces, the Pentagon study said.

America's vast and powerful military machine was built to fight a nuclear war or a large-scale conven-

tional war, particularly in Western Europe, but was not structured to cope with the current situation, which the report notes is "neither war, nor peace."

"As a nation, we do not understand low-intensity conflict," the study said. "We respond without unity of effort, we execute our activities poorly, and we lack the ability to sustain operations."

"Short of war, we have no strategy or comprehensive plan to address the challenges of political violence," the study said.

While the authors were military, the report also looked at civilian agencies such as the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency.

The report said it is intended as a starting point for the U.S. government to understand the problem and

wasn't designed "to recommend those few relevant fixes" that would settle this bothersome problem once and for all. As such, the project is not a blueprint, but a dialogue.

A CENTRAL feature of the Reagan administration's foreign policy has been to strike back at terrorists who hit U.S. citizens, such as the bombing raid on Libya earlier this year. The administration is also supporting guerrilla groups around the world who are fighting Soviet-backed forces, particularly in Central America and Afghanistan.

But there is no overall policy, the report says, warning that "a comprehensive civil-military strategy must be developed to defend our interests threatened by the series of low-intensity conflicts around the globe." (Associated Press)

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# Soviets seek to score points with American public — and do it well

WOLF BLITZER/Washington

UNDER THE leadership of General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, the Soviet Union is trying to project as favorable an image to the West as possible. In recent months, they have embarked on a major campaign aimed at presenting a nicer face to the outside world.

Thus, the Soviets have been unusually open in discussing their policies. There are now regular Western-style news conferences with senior officials in Moscow — something unheard of in the past. Soviet spokesmen, fluent in English, are frequently available for interviews on American television news networks. They are usually smooth as silk.

Most recently, for example, Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov became an almost instant media star in the U.S. He has followed in the footsteps of Vladimir Posner, a Moscow radio correspondent who has been a regular guest on ABC's popular *Nightline* and other programs. He grew up in the United States and speaks English without a trace of an accent. Thus, he can do for the Soviets what Likud MK Moshe Arens and UN Ambassador Binyamin Netanyahu, who were also raised in the U.S., can do for Israel — score points with the American public.

Clearly, the Soviets are sensitive to what others think of them. That, according to U.S. officials, helps to explain why the Kremlin leadership was so anxious to resolve the Nicholas Daniloff affair as quickly as possible. But there was a fundamental dilemma facing the Soviets.

On the one hand, they certainly wanted to obtain the quick release of Gennadi Zakharov, the accused Soviet spy in New York. They wanted their man back in Moscow.

But on the other hand, the Soviets recognized the damage to their image that the frameup of Daniloff was causing.

In the end, they decided that getting Zakharov out of an American jail was worth the public relations price. Say what you will about the Soviets, they do have an impressive and well-earned reputation among intelligence experts in doing whatever is necessary to win the release of their spies.

That was why Daniloff, the Moscow correspondent of *U.S. News and World Report*, was picked up only days before completing his five-year tour of duty there. Most U.S. experts believe that the decision to grab Daniloff was made at the high-

est levels of the Politburo.

The Soviets have had a long-standing policy of taking prisoners, holding them hostage and then releasing them only in exchange for their spies picked up in the West. This is a fundamental, no-nonsense issue for the KGB. It may fly in the face of their public relations campaign, but that's life.

A DIFFERENT sort of dilemma faces the Soviets in their current offensive aimed at Israel and the American Jewish community. There is a built-in problem, according to American specialists.

Yes, the Soviets want to appear more moderate and responsible, partially in order to enhance their diplomatic role in Arab-Israeli peacemaking. This explains why Shevardnadze agreed to meet Prime Minister Shimon Peres in New York last month. It also explains some of the moderate public statements coming out of Moscow, as far as Israel is concerned. Shevardnadze's UN speech did not contain the usual anti-Israel rhetoric — a point noted by Israeli officials.

But there is certainly a countervailing pressure in opposing any sig-

nificant opening toward Israel or any easing of the plight of Soviet Jewry. The Kremlin is very concerned about how any such change would play in the Arab world, especially in Syria, Libya and other radical states.

In recent months, there has been no evidence of any progress on the issue of Jewish emigration, despite the release of a handful of well-known dissidents, of whom Natan (Anatoly) Sharansky was the most prominent. Beyond a very negative Arab reaction, the Soviets also worry about the potential domestic fall-out.

According to U.S. officials, the Soviets really do fear that any genuine liberalization could open a Pandora's Box of problems. Other disgruntled ethnic and religious groups would jump aboard the emigration bandwagon. That could prove embarrassing and even dangerous to the overall fabric of the Soviet society.

This bodes ill for increased aliyah. The days of large-scale emigration — more than 50,000 Jews were allowed to leave in 1979 alone as opposed to less than 1,000 last year — may be permanently over.

Still, this has not prevented the Soviet leadership from attempting to come across as more reasonable in Israel and the American Jewish com-

Backdrop of pleasant quietness: the Saga Hotel in Reykjavik, where the U.S. and Soviet delegations are likely to stay.

munity. Anatoly Dobrynin, former ambassador to the U.S., who is now a senior foreign policy adviser to Gorbachev, is said to be an architect of this policy. Having lived in Washington for more than two decades, he has a well-established reputation as an expert on the American scene. And like many foreign diplomats in Washington, he exaggerates the power and influence of the Jewish community.

According to U.S. analysts, Dobrynin has suggested that a more liberalized approach toward Israel and the Jews could advance Soviet interests in Washington — in both the administration and Congress. It could, for example, head off any massive anti-Soviet demonstrations during a Gorbachev visit to the U.S. Moreover, if more Jews were allowed to leave, the U.S. might even waive the Jackson-Vanik "freedom of emigration" amendment, opening the door to vital technology transfers and trade credits to the Soviet Union.

BUT FOR the time being, the Soviets are moving very slowly — if at all — toward that goal. And the Reagan administration, despite its willingness to reach an accommodation with Moscow over the Daniloff

affair and to hold the mini-summit in Iceland, is not about to risk any additional unilateral concessions to the Soviets. As it is, there is a widespread notion in the U.S. that the Soviets won this latest eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation with Washington. It was the U.S. which first blinked, by effectively trading Daniloff for Zakharov, even if Yuri Orlov was thrown into the deal as a face-saving gesture to Washington.

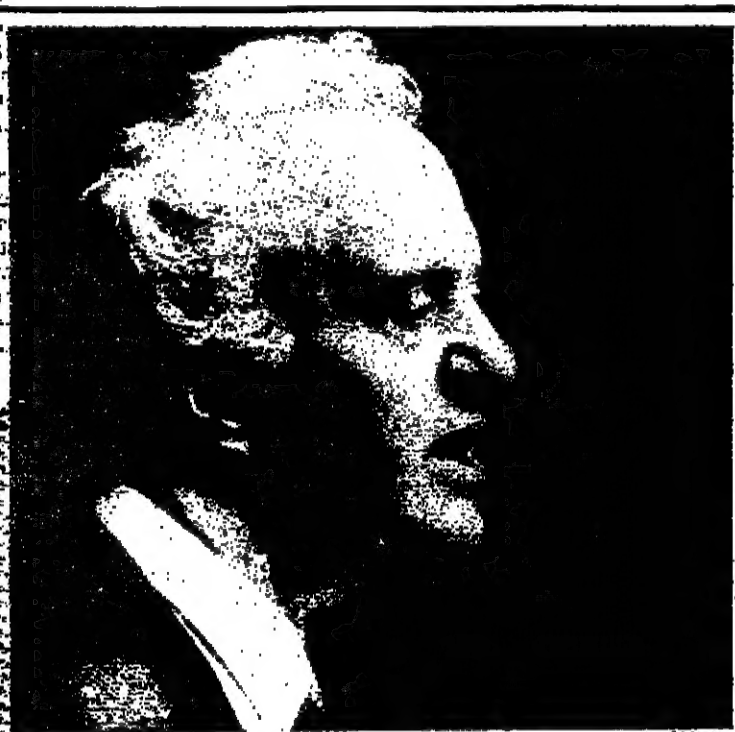
As *The New York Times* national security correspondent, Leslie Gelb, wrote on Wednesday, the Reagan administration did not fare as well as other U.S. administrations had in similar circumstances in the past. He noted, for example, that a Soviet driver with diplomatic immunity was arrested in the U.S. on espionage charges in 1963. The Soviets then jailed an American professor. But the professor was released after President John F. Kennedy intervened. The driver, meanwhile, was convicted and was not allowed to return to the Soviet Union until 1971.

In 1978, two Soviet employees at the U.N. without diplomatic immunity were charged with espionage, and Moscow arrested an American business man on currency charges. "The American was tried and immediately

expelled," Gelb wrote. "The two Russians were sentenced to 50 years in prison, and months later they were traded for five Soviet dissidents."

Gelb concluded: "The general reaction here is that Mr. Zakharov's release and return to Moscow, immediately after pleading no contest to the espionage charges and one day after Daniloff's release, erodes a major American negotiating principle. That principle is that countries should not be permitted to trade innocent Americans for their own spies and terrorists."

*The Wall Street Journal*, in an editorial, echoed that sentiment. "By what logic is the Daniloff affair a pretext for hope? The U.S. protected its interests by arresting a Soviet spy, and the Russians shoved an American journalist into prison. As a public relations cover for this preposterous act, the Soviets release Yuri Orlov, who was imprisoned and tortured for publicly demanding that the Politburo comply with its signed commitment to the Helsinki accords on human rights. The other, utterly innocent Soviet inmates mentioned during the negotiations — such as ailing biochemist David Goldfarb — revert to status as negotiating chips for another time."



(APF)

## Shevardnadze: a genuine Georgian

BORIS GASS

EDUARD Shevardnadze, the foreign minister of the USSR, is known inside the Soviet Union for his hard stance against corruption. In the Soviet republic of Georgia where he served as the Communist Party chief, corruption was at one time an accepted part of daily life.

Enterprising people (speculators and black marketeers) amassed money, purchased manufactured goods, jobs, party cards. The Georgian humorist and Shevardnadze protégé, N. Dumbadze, wrote in one of his novels that there was a time when a party card equalled a bread ration card.

Police would bribe their superiors to get a bent where speculation flourished so that they could start receiving their own regular supply of pay-offs. After a few months on such a bent, the policeman would have enough money to buy an apartment.

Party officials also were not immune to backhanders. While the chiefs of the district militia, secretaries of district party committees took cash, the first secretary of the Tbilisi party committee preferred precious stones. The wife of one-time Georgian party boss Victoria Mzhavanadze once complained that on being introduced to business people she held out her hand and they encircled her fingers with diamond rings.

Once, a Tbilisi district secretary heard via the grapevine that he was going to be dismissed from his post. He promptly ordered his underlings not to wait for the end of the month and to take from his territory the appropriate bribes due to him. Within a week, the *artel* (cooperative) members and store owners let out a howl — they now had to come up with ready cash for a second time that month, this time for the new party secretary.

While in a cafe with the writer Guram Pandzhikidze, I once saw a quarrel between three speculators. One of them took out of his pocket a

packet of money with which he began to beat the second on his head. Guram turned to me and said "Do you see how they degrade weak people with money? In my latest novel I wrote about a far worse case — a drunken speculator offered a waiter a large sum of money for a little finger well-fried on a skillet. Be a good fellow, and do the translation of this novel."

The novel *A Stone from Clear Water* had hardly appeared in *Tiskart*, a journal, when it was subjected to devastating criticism. It was even denounced at a Party conference. I was sick at heart — it would be useless for me to translate his manuscript, no one would print it. Then suddenly came heartening news. The editor of the journal passed on to Guram Pandzhikidze the congratulations of Eduard Shevardnadze: "Eduard liked the novel very much; he will try to help you."

At that time Shevardnadze occupied the post of minister of internal affairs of the Republic of Georgia. He had previously been Secretary of the Young Communist League Central Committee, where he chose trustworthy people from the ranks of the young and placed them in key positions. His friends from among the writers became editors of youth journals and newspapers and they printed even the most accusatory of exposes. The impression created was that behind the scenes, Shevardnadze, while he still lacked power and influence, led an ever louder sounding choir of disgruntled intellectuals.

Later, in his position as minister of internal affairs, Shevardnadze opened a case file on the notorious black-marketeer Lazishvili brothers. But due to the wide support from general secretary Mzhavanadze and his wife, the slippery brothers managed to thwart all his efforts. Rumours abounded that Eduard Shevardnadze and Otar Lazishvili had vowed to destroy each other. While Lazishvili continued to carry

match boxes full of jewels to his patrons, enabling him to continue receiving foreign equipment and to wash his automobile with champagne, Shevardnadze steadfastly gathered incriminating material. At an appropriate stage, he managed to get the upper hand. Otar was arrested.

WHEN Shevardnadze was general secretary of the Georgian Central committee he attended a closed meeting for Party members at the Union of Soviet writers. There he appealed for the writers to help the Party in its struggle with the distorted phenomena in Georgia's daily life.

He spoke calmly, not from a written text, quoted books he liked, addressed writers by their names. But his remarks were not without criticism. "Not long ago," he said, "I was at a concert of the Georgian Symphony Orchestra and was saddened not to find in the hall even one Georgian writer, and yet you have to set an example..."

Then he suddenly turned to the Jewish question, saying approximately the following: "The fact that Jews leave Georgia for Israel is to a great extent our fault also. We, Party workers, did not devote enough attention to their education, their development, did not help them rise to a proper level. It is necessary to strengthen our ideological and cultural work, instill Soviet patriotism into the Jewish masses, help them overcome backwardness."

SHEVARDNADZE, as far as I know, is not an anti-Semite because he is a genuine Georgian; and historically, with few exceptions, anti-Jewish sentiments have been alien to the Georgian people.

I grew up and finished school and university in Tbilisi, and even during the war I did not hear any deprecating anti-Semitic remark. Four of the nine employees of the *Literaturnaya Gruzia* (Literary Georgia) journal where I worked were Jewish. I myself became deputy to the editor-in-chief there and a member of the editorial committee. No one ever forced me to sign my translations with a pseudonym. My Jewishness never prevented me from being myself amidst Georgians.

Indeed, after the meeting at which I was expelled from the Union of Soviet Writers (because I was emigrating to Israel), my Georgian friends — poets and novelists — organized for me a luxurious farewell in a restaurant. Immediately after the meeting we went off to get drunk.

The very fact of the existence of the State of Israel was proof for Georgians that a tiny country, surrounded by enemies, is able to preserve its independence and stand up for itself. And that thought warmed their hearts. An example of the well-wishing attitude of Georgians toward Israel can also be shown by the books of Irakli Abashidze and I. Rurug about their visit to Jerusalem.

I doubt very much if many Soviet newspapers publish poems, holiday greetings or letters sent from Israel. Yet I know for certain that the Georgian *Samshoblo* newspaper regularly publishes correspondence from Israeli citizens. In addition, on the death of Boris Gapanov, the translator of Rustaveli into Hebrew, the Georgian literary magazine published an obituary of him, despite his having emigrated to Israel. The chief secretary of the newspaper admitted to me that he had no difficulty at all in pushing through the publication of Gapanov's obituary.

BEFORE moving to the Soviet foreign ministry, Shevardnadze waged his war on corruption and black-marketeering in Georgia decisively and in a novel manner. He sent plain-clothes men to check the documents of customers in restaurants

during working hours.

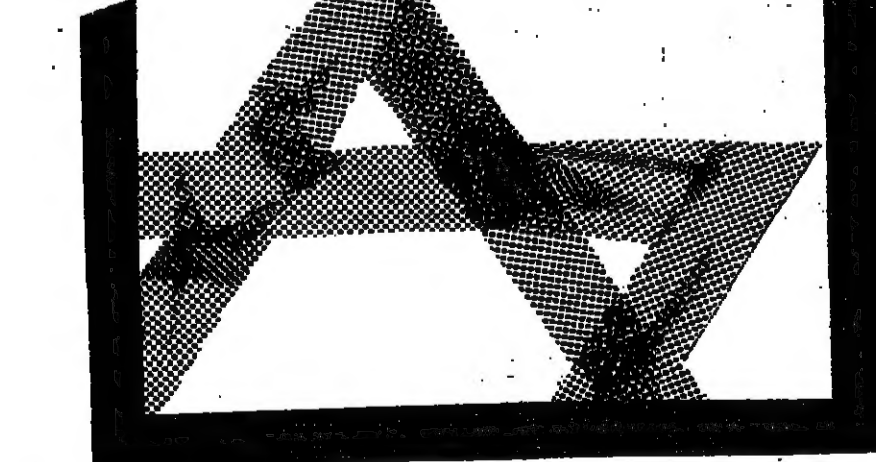
He forbade entrepreneurs to export from Georgia fruits and flowers. He closed down many private work shops and enterprises. And in reply to threatening anonymous letters, he began to take his evening walks in the park without personal body guards.

Shevardnadze also did not permit Otar Lazishvili to be transferred to a colony beyond the borders of Georgia, where his brothers might be able to improve his living conditions. The solemn word of a Georgian still stands for something.

This article originally appeared in the American Russian language paper *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*. This version is based on a translation by Herbert Marshall.

## BIG DEMONSTRATION

# Pardon for the "Jewish Underground"



The Jews called the "Jewish Underground" have been in prison two and a half years. Everyone knows they are not criminals but men who have given their best years for the security of Jewish settlement.

- \* An absolute majority of the public supports their immediate release.
- \* Public opinion polls have shown that more than 80% of the public demands this.
- \* Hundreds of thousands of citizens have already signed a petition in support of pardoning them.
- \* Letters are constantly being sent to the President from all over the world, in support of pardons.
- \* 1150 terrorists have been released, while Jews who acted to strengthen Israel's security find themselves behind bars.
- \* Left wing groups and the media are exerting pressure, to prevent pardons being granted to the "Underground."

At this time of soul-searching, let the country's leaders and representatives rise above all narrow issues, political and otherwise, and say — enough!

Pardons for those who acted to strengthen the security of Israel.

We have received a license for the march and the demonstration from the Police

## Protest March in Jerusalem

on Tuesday, October 7, at 5 p.m. Assembly and start of march at Beit Ha'am (on Ben-Zvi St.)

The march will pass through the streets of Jerusalem, and a demonstration will be staged near Kikar Tzafat.

## BIG DEMONSTRATION

at 7 p.m. near Kikar Tzafat

(in King George Ave., opposite the Jerusalem Plaza Hotel). After the demonstration, the march will continue past the Prime Minister's house.

The march will disband at the Liberty Bell Garden.

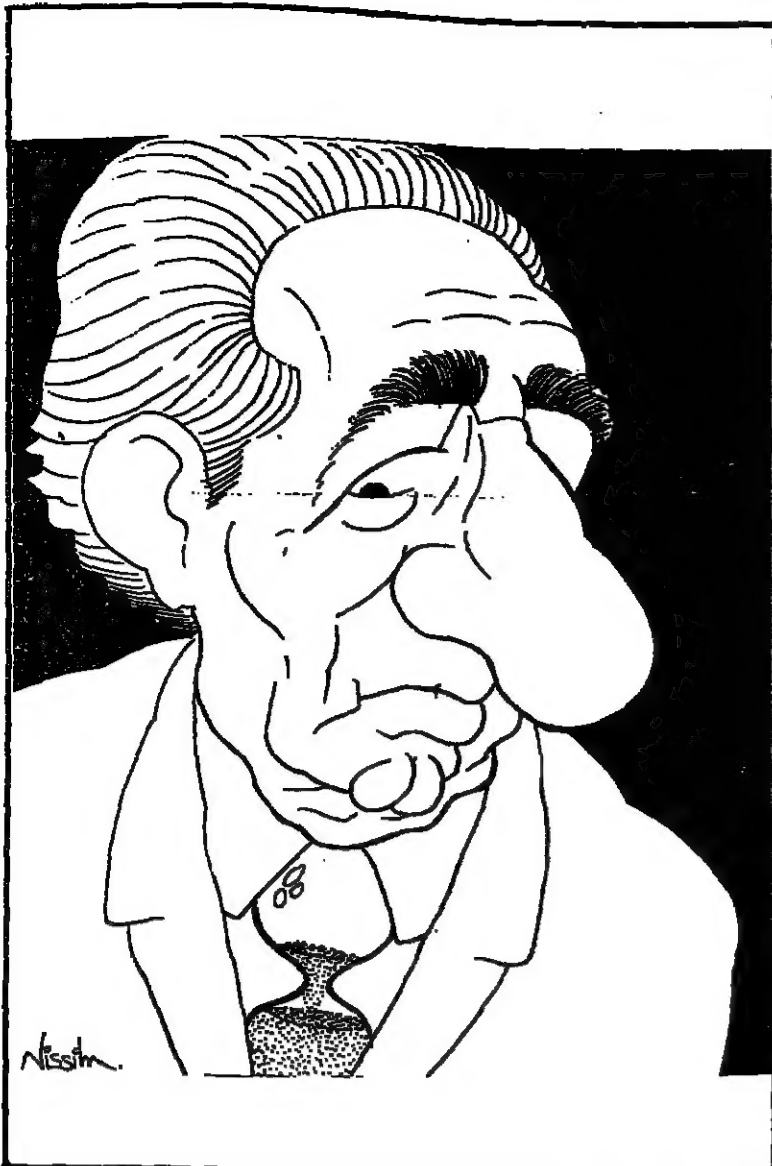
Demonstration Committee Committee for the Release of the "Underground" Prisoners

47 Pehov Hava Nijes, Jerusalem, Tel. 02-523165. Donations should be paid into First International Bank account 105-69877, Basel branch, Jerusalem. Transportation to the march will start from points all over the country — details shortly in the press.

Shevach 1020



# Peres and Shamir look to the Ides of October



## Vice Premier's ascending fortunes

ROTATION has already had a profound impact on internal Herut politics. The silence from rival Herut camps has been almost unnatural in the months following the stormy party convention last March.

But silence does not mean a closing of the ranks. It is rather the sober realization that anyone who carries on with the infighting will be charged with jeopardizing rotation. This is one responsibility no one in Herut can afford to shoulder — especially not David Levy.

Thus the expectation in Herut is that the second session of the party's aborted convention will be held some time in November or early December at the latest. This is all Levy dares demand now, and Yitzhak Shamir is not likely to put up stiff opposition. Shamir has no more excuses and no more reason to delay the convention.

Shamir has never been stronger in Herut and can be expected to have very smooth sailing in the upcoming convention. It is conservatively estimated that as the recently-installed prime minister, he will have the

Political Correspondent Sarah Honig says that Yitzhak Shamir has won the first round against his rivals for the leadership of Herut. But the next round will be more involved.

added support of at least 200 convention delegates. If there was parity between the Shamir-Moshe Arens and the Levy-Ariel Sharon camps in March, the scales are now heavily tipped in Shamir's favour.

What Shamir lacks in charisma, he will make up for in the prestige of office. In addition, Levy and Sharon are no longer allies and Sharon has of late been flirting with Arens.

The Shin Bet affair has done wonders for Shamir's image in Herut. The party loves to love anyone it perceives as hounded by Labour and victimized by the hostile "leftist" press. The Shin Bet furore has put Shamir on a high patriotic pedestal, from which Levy cannot for the time being remove him.

Levy knows that as far as this

round is concerned, he has lost. The most he can demand is an early convention, when Shamir has not yet benefited too much from his repeat billing as national leader.

Levy is expected to compromise on the internal allocation of power bases and bide his time. Pundits say that contacts are already under way between the factions to prepare a deal for the convention to become a rubber stamp with a great show of ostensible unity. Some claim that the deal has in essence already been made.

They point to Levy's little-noticed words at the recent 85th birthday party for Herut elder statesman Yohanan Bader. Levy predicted that soon Bader will be invited to give his blessing to the agreed-upon

arrangement at the convention's second sitting.

Levy has given up hope for immediate gains against Shamir, but he is certain that he will be the next party chief — be it as head of the opposition or prime minister. Those with keen ears notice how Levy has been building himself up as the great Herut patriot, taking credit for enlarging Judea and Samaria settlements.

At the same time, he is scoring points with the media by taking an independent line on issues such as Area 9. In total contrast to the fighting mood of the Likud Knesset faction, Levy saw nothing wrong with handing some of the area's lands over to Arabs. Levy obviously seeks recognition as a sober, original and moderate, where-needed-be, figure of national stature.

Rotation, no doubt, has immeasurably enhanced Shamir's stature in Herut, but only for now. He is not likely to run in future. The arena will then be Levy's and Arens's, or perhaps it will be Dan Meridor's, Moshe Katsav's, Meir Shitrit's and other younger leaders.

Leon Brittan, who resigned from the Thatcher government in January, will be the guest of honour next month at the annual Balfour Day dinner in Israel. He is profiled by our London correspondent, David Horovitz.



(Camera Press)

## A minister's rise — and setback

"I KNOW Leon sometimes sounds pompous, but he's just got an exceptionally fast brain. He listens intently to any question, answers it very quickly, digests it, then files it away for future reference and goes on to the next thing. Some politicians who are very cuddly often don't listen to a word anybody says." (Diana Brittan, January 1986, shortly after her husband resigned as secretary of state for trade and industry.)

Even his own mother could hardly describe Leon Brittan as cuddly, but nor is he the pompous, arrogant creature his critics would have us believe. Above all, it seems, he is an honourable man; a politician who does what he thinks is right, and now, because of it finds himself consigned to the back benches.

It was thought to be only a matter of time before the shooting star of the Thatcher cabinet himself took over at Number 10. Until, that is, a document leaked by his ministry brought about his undoing.

Brittan seems to have accepted his fate with commendable equanimity, and continues to be unstinting in his praise for Mrs. Thatcher, and energetic in his back-bench work, hoping, no doubt, for the telephone call from Number 10 that will herald his recall to cabinet.

He is also full of praise for the system of ministerial responsibility — so unloved in the Knesset but still thriving at Westminster — that obliged him to resign.

"THE OUTSIDE world is entitled to know that the government as a whole is doing what its members say it's doing," he told *The Jerusalem Post* last week. "Bad government and disorganized government result when individual ministers go round contradicting one another."

The "individual minister" in question is, of course, former defence secretary Michael Heseltine, who opened the Westland helicopter can of worms that rocked the Thatcher government in January. Heseltine had put together a European rescue bid for the ailing British helicopter manufacturer, a bid which he charged Brittan was doing his best to torpedo. Amid bitter rivalry and rising tension, the two ministers swapped charges like squabbling

schoolboys and leaked letters in the best Israeli cabinet fashion.

Heseltine went first, refusing to accept the cabinet's rejection of his Westland rescue proposal, but Brittan was forced to follow after his ministry leaked a letter from the solicitor-general which corrected some of the inaccuracies put about by Heseltine concerning the proposal.

"The main problem with the whole episode was that the secretary of state for defence was not prepared to agree to the decision which had been taken. He campaigned actively against it — yet it wasn't even his responsibility; it was that of the Department of Trade and Industry," said Brittan, leaning back to catch the rare rays of sunlight penetrating into his tiny House of Commons office.

"I was put in an almost impossible position," he continued, with an aggrieved look. "It was only right that I accept responsibility for what my civil servants had done [i.e., leaking the solicitor-general's letter], but my resignation came mainly because in the heated atmosphere of the day it was clear that I did not have sufficient support from the government party. And no minister, whether he's right or wrong, can continue without that support."

### 'Nothing to do with racism'

IN A newspaper interview days after her husband's resignation, Diana Brittan charged that anti-Semitism was a factor in his downfall, that back bench Tory MPs were sick of all the Jews in the cabinet. In fact, John Stokes, calling on Brittan to quit, a few days earlier, had expressed the hope that he would be replaced "by a red-blooded Englishman."

But Brittan, a little disingenuously perhaps, will have none of it. "Of course, there are undoubtedly racist chaps here, like in most countries. But I think racism is fading, especially among the young. And I also think that the tendency to racism is more prominent on the left than on the right."

The son of Lithuanian Jewish pa-

rents who came to England before World War II, Brittan took a first-class degree in both English and Law at Cambridge and pursued a joint legal and political career until elected to parliament in 1974. Under the astute guidance of then Home Secretary William Whitelaw, Brittan rose quickly through the ranks to be appointed to that office himself in 1983. His move to the Ministry of Industry and Trade in Thatcher's big government shake-up last September was seen by some as a demotion, but Thatcher publicly assured him that he was not out of favour and indeed, fought desperately to prevent his resignation in January.

The British satirical puppet show *Spitting Image* portrays Brittan as one of Thatcher's loyal "yes men," and the real-life Brittan is sure that she will lead the Conservatives to a third term in office, thanks as much to Labour's weaknesses as to the Tories' strengths.

"No government that does anything worth doing can expect to be constantly popular," he said, preaching in the manner so unloved by his detractors in the press, who have used such choice adjectives as "slimy" and "greasy" to describe him. "But I'm sure that when the election day comes people will make a realistic assessment of the alternatives and conclude in our favour."

BRITAN is due in Israel next month as guest of honour at the Israel and British Commonwealth Association's Balfour Day dinner. He laughed when asked whether he would have gone into politics had he grown up in Israel.

"That's a completely unanswerable question. Had I grown up in Israel I would have been a very different person."

Asked what being Jewish means to him, he leaned back again to reflect and chose his words carefully: "I come from a traditional background... I'm not Orthodox, but I certainly associate myself with the Jewish tradition."

Does he believe in God? "Well, I don't think we need go into theology, need we?" he replied rhetorically, bringing his chair back down to earth with a thump.

## Haifa is losing musicians

By LEA LEVAVI

Jerusalem Post Reporter  
HAIFA — Six players in the Haifa Symphony Orchestra — 10 per cent of the total — have quit this year because of the low salaries. NIS 400 a month gross, that the orchestra pays. They can earn twice as much at the Beer-sheva Sinfonietta or Israel Broadcasting Authority Symphony Orchestra.

"A year ago, I would have said the orchestra's life was in danger," Ben-Ami Elnav, its managing director, said. "When conductor Stanley Sperber and I both came on board a year ago, the orchestra was half dead. Stanley, however, has whipped the orchestra into shape and everyone agrees it has to be kept alive."

Thirty-four per cent of the orchestra's approximately \$600,000 budget is raised from ticket sales and donations, with the balance provided equally by the Haifa municipality and the Ministry of Education. For the first time this year, all the seats in the 1,200-seat Haifa Auditorium were sold for the series there.

But how can the orchestra be successful when a tenth of its mem-

bers have departed?

"Some people stay because they're dedicated to having an orchestra in Haifa. There are some, of course, whom we would like to lose, but who have nowhere else to go. But they are the minority. Young players seeking experience will come to us for a year or two to get it," said Elnav.

"In one case, we auditioned a violinist just arrived from Romania who also auditioned with the Sinfonietta and IBA Symphony. She was excellent and everyone offered her jobs. The problem was that her husband couldn't find work and I knew that the only way I could get her to Haifa was to find a job for her husband. I turned the city upside down to get him into the electric company, but how often can I play tricks like that?"

He complained that the Israel government's expenditures on culture, roughly \$13 million a year, are equal to the losses chalked up by the country's football and basketball teams. "Considering the increased violence in the country, somebody should think about the importance of culture to our future."

## Absorption woes

A new immigrant has to spend at least 70 work days in dealing with 27 government and other offices and has to handle 50 sets of documents during the process of absorption, according to a study commissioned by the head of the Jewish Agency's Youth Aliya Department, Uri Gordon.

Gordon noted in a talk yesterday to the Labour Party Young Guard that 70 work days is an optimal figure. It depends on whether the immigrant understands what he has to do in each office and produces the right documents at the right time, and whether the appropriate officials are there and can understand what the immigrant wants.

Gordon also noted that there are at least eight different categories of immigrants, each with its own set of rights and absorption procedures. He concluded that unless the system is streamlined, Israel could not expect to attract greater aliya

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No reserved seating.

To all my Friends!  
I wish to express my heartfelt thanks and appreciation for your continued expressions of concern during the long months of my illness.  
I have derived very much needed encouragement from your verbal and written communications, your friendship and unfailing loyalty.  
May you be blessed with a year of good health and happiness, together with your loved ones, and may we witness a lasting peace for a suffering world.  
בתיבה וחתימה טובה  
ערב ראש השנה תשמ"ז  
Channa Michael

To my many friends in Israel  
Warmest wishes for  
**A Happy, Peaceful New Year**  
EMMA SCHAUER  
Detroit — Yemin Moshe, Jerusalem

**EGGED**  
wishes all the House of Israel  
**A Happy, Safe New Year**

מזכרת לאחרי



FEATURES

Elaine Ruth Fletcher goes to Hebron following the appointment of Abdel Majid a-Zir as city head

# Mayor in a hot seat

THE RECEPTION HALL of the Hebron municipal building was crowded last Tuesday with well-wishers come to greet Dr. Abdel Majid a-Zir, the city's first Arab mayor in three years.

Men in suits and keffiyas sat along the walls of the high-ceilinged, rug-covered hall, while a group of Israeli and British reporters held an impromptu press conference in the adjacent office of the mayor.

As the reporters departed, almost two dozen more visitors were filing past a-Zir to shake his hand and offer their blessings.

Only later was it disclosed that the long file of visitors had all come from one institution, the local hospital, which has a natural connection to a-Zir, the city's long-time director of health.

The scene illustrated the dual image apparent in last week's appointment of a-Zir, along with similar moves in Ramallah and el-Bireh. On the one hand there were visible displays of local enthusiasm for the new appointees, even in Hebron, the focal point of tension.

At the same time, the seemingly impressive show of support came from certain limited quarters, said critics who believe the replacement of Israeli administrators with Arab mayors will merely serve Israeli and Jordanian objectives.

"Many go to Hebron; there are also those who don't go," said Ghassan Sharif, the Hebron representative of the pro-PLO newspaper *A-Shaab*, as he sat in his tiny souk-like stall of an office near Beit Hadassah on Tuesday with a phone at his elbow and newspapers spread across his desk.

"Those institutions which published blessings are mostly welfare organizations. Other institutions have not published blessings, and a few, like the student and workers' unions, have published against the appointments," said Sharif, tabulating the results from the city vote available.

On the streets of Hebron, said Sharif, members of a-Zir's extended family were keeping quiet guard to ensure that opponents did not have the final say—as they did when they assassinated Nablus mayor Zaafar al-Masri in March, shortly after he

took over from an Israeli administrator. "His own family is small," Sharif noted. "But he is connected to 17 other Hebron families through marriage."

A-ZIR had a reputation as a very religious Moslem, added Sharif, making an allusion to a past association with the Moslem Brotherhood.

Religious sentiments had been displayed in an unusual way in the mayor's office, where the outgoing Israeli administrator, Zamir Shemesh, presented a-Zir with a framed picture of a vase bearing the Koranic inscription: "The mosques are for God, and only God should be worshipped in the mosque."

A-Zir smiled at the gift and commented, "He knows what to give me."

As a-Zir basked in the initial flurry of greetings from well-wishers, the dimmer possibilities of the future seemed less pressing.

"People are coming day and night," he told reporters. "Last night, in fact, was better than elections. Thousands of people came and stood outside our family home."

And what about the death threats already pronounced in Beirut and Damascus by radical Palestinian leaders such as Abu Nidal and George Habash?

He smiled. "In any election you will find some people who will not like the results... We believe life is limited by God, not by Habash."

THE MAYOR'S job is a civil service position along much the same lines as the city's health directorship, insisted a-Zir who has held the health post for the last 20 years. That very morning he had spent an hour in his clinic before beginning the day's mayoral duties.

"What is better for the people, to save their municipal services, or to leave money frozen in Jordan?" he asked.

As a result of the appointment, some 80,000 dinars frozen in Jordan when the former Arab mayor was deposed in 1983 will be released. And the municipality, which Shemesh left with a budget surplus of 550,000 dinars, can expect even more help from Jordan as part of its new five-year development plan for the territories.



Abdel Majid a-Zir



Abdel Majid a-Zir with an Arab resident

A-Zir ticked off his priorities in his new job: sewage disposal projects, increasing the water supply, street paving, a new electricity station...

"What is the connection of politics to water shortages, sewage, municipal services?" he asked. "It's not political."

IF FOR A-ZIR the political connection was not immediate, however, it was so for Gush Emunim leader Moshe Levinger.

On the same day, Levinger sat in the cafeteria of the Hebron settlers' giftshop near the Cave of Machpela conducting his own brand of municipal business, speaking out in opposition to the mayoral appointment, as a slowly-moving fan stirred a fresh breeze.

While a-Zir, in his office interview, had tried delicately to sidestep the settler issue, Levinger was indignant about a-Zir's comments to Kol Israel on the matter the previous day.

In the radio interview, a-Zir had said he opposed enlarging the Jewish presence in the city, and would have to "discuss" the matter of providing municipal services to the settlers.

Gush Emunim responded by filing charges of racism with the Attorney General's Office.

"If he doesn't move to the PLO line they will kill him," said Levinger. "That's the way it was with Natshe."

At the beginning Natshe was moderate. Then he became more and more of an extremist. It can't be otherwise with a-Zir, because of the fascist atmosphere in Hebron. Most of the residents are PLO. Most don't want him.

Furthermore, the appointment was made "under the table," argued Levinger, "like thieves in the night after the known opposition of both Jews and Arabs."

Would he have preferred elections? "We're not in an ideal situation," he replied. "We're in a tense situation. Shemesh was accepted by the Arabs. He succeeded in bringing order to the city, and an end to protectionism. The city took a better course. And the Arabs were satisfied because he brought quiet to the area."

The question uppermost in Levinger's mind was why the appointment was necessary, but he had his own answer for that: Shimon Peres's conviction that he understands the requirements for peace.

IF THERE IS one thing that Levinger and the pro-PLO Arabs of Hebron might agree on it would be that the so-called "Jordanian" option is doomed to failure, and that a-Zir, like the mayoral appointment, will not reinforce the West Bank's Amman link.

"You will not say anything with money for with appointments to walk with Jordan," said a Dr. Jacobson, a dentist, who is a member of one of the city's 12 neighborhood committees, sitting in the city's A-Shaab office.

The dentist, like Levinger, took the phrase "this is in the night" to describe the way the appointment was made.

But didn't he think that an Arab mayor would be preferable to a Jewish administrator—however imperfect the arrangement?

No, he asserted, launching into a long story of an incident that occurred when he was a school boy during the Jordanian administration. He said two classmates were punished for sexual misbehavior.

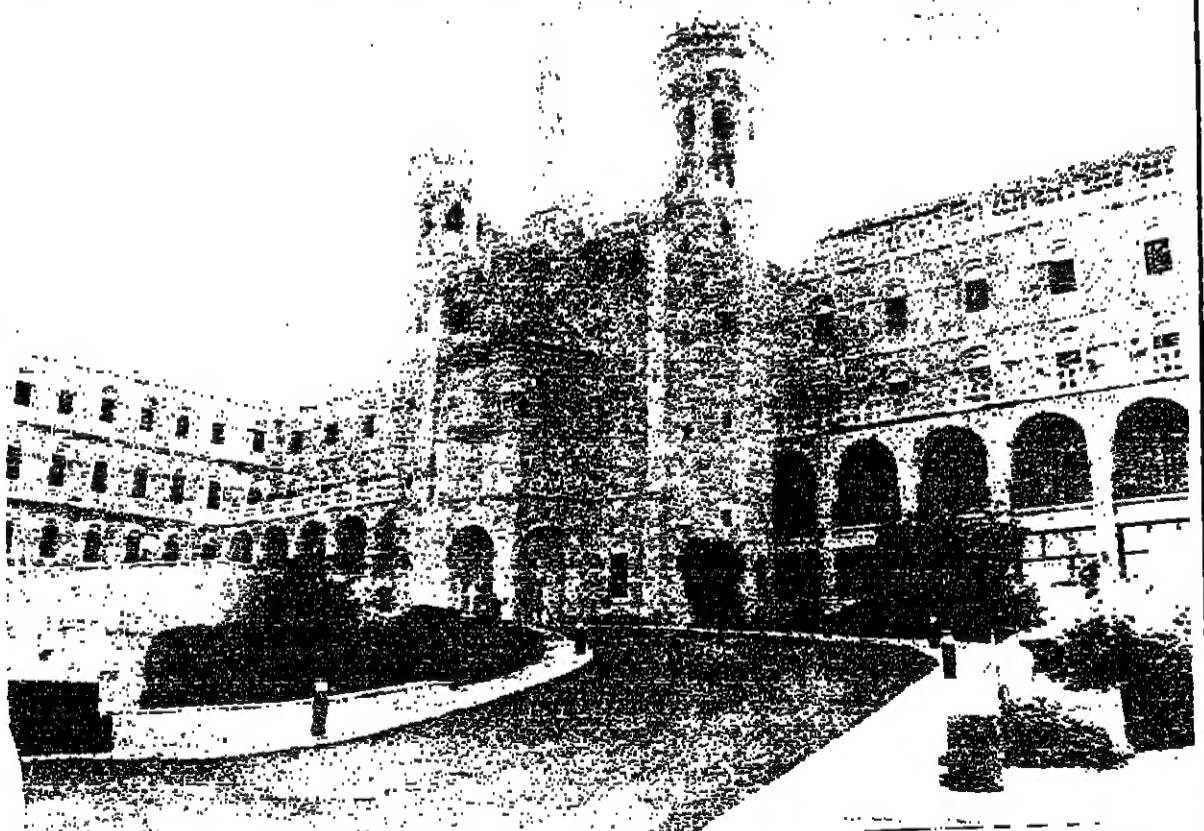
When they complained that they shouldn't be punished because they "hadn't gone all the way," the administrator explained sternly that in such matters there was no halfway mark.

So it is, he said, in making deals with Jordan and Israel.



The Cave of Machpela

(Werner Braun)



The Notre Dame Centre in Jerusalem

(Yitzhak Elharar)

## The worst of both worlds

EMIGRATION is the greatest problem facing the Catholic community of Jerusalem. The community has dwindled from approximately 28,000 in 1945, 12,000 prior to the Six Day War to the present population of 5,000.

East Jerusalem is rich in Christian heritage, but unfortunately it is poor in resources. Industry in the area centres mainly on tourism. There are no universities for law or medicine in East Jerusalem and the West Bank (except the Hebrew University which is not politically acceptable); neither are there technological institutions. The only educational institutions are those backed by the religious communities or family trusts offering a limited curriculum of study.

For many, the path to economic and academic advancement is in emigration from the land of their birth to Western democracies abounding in opportunities.

Prior to World War II, the Christians of Jerusalem and the Holy Land were considered the "Brahmins" of the society, educated, rich, and with a solid family background. Their status changed with the advent of the oil finds in the Gulf states and their petrodollars which raised the economic and educational standards of the Arab Moslems.

Following in its wake was the fanaticism of Khomeini which forcibly declared that Arab nationalism and the Moslem religion were of the same bond. The tenets of this fanaticism urge to place the Christian Arabs outside the Arab nation; they are considered pariahs and suffer the

**Norman A. Rubin considers why the Catholics of Jerusalem are leaving Israel**

full consequences of such a designation.

FOLLOWING the Six Day War, the Catholics of Jerusalem found themselves under the laws and jurisdiction of the government of Israel. The Israeli occupation of East Jerusalem brought additional socio-economic problems and high taxation inflicted economic hardship on the Christian minority, and as Arabs, they were considered a security risk and found it more difficult to gain employment, especially in many fields of education (with Israeli educational institutions).

One must not altogether condemn the Israeli occupation of East Jerusalem and the West Bank, as some of the benefits the Israeli government brought to the area—good medical services for a pittance, welfare that insured comfortable living for the poor and the aged and all the benefits of a socialist government—outweighed the deficiencies of their administration. Certainly, they brought more democratic expression for both Israelis and Arabs, Christian, Jew and Moslem.

But to many in the occupied territories, Israel is still considered an

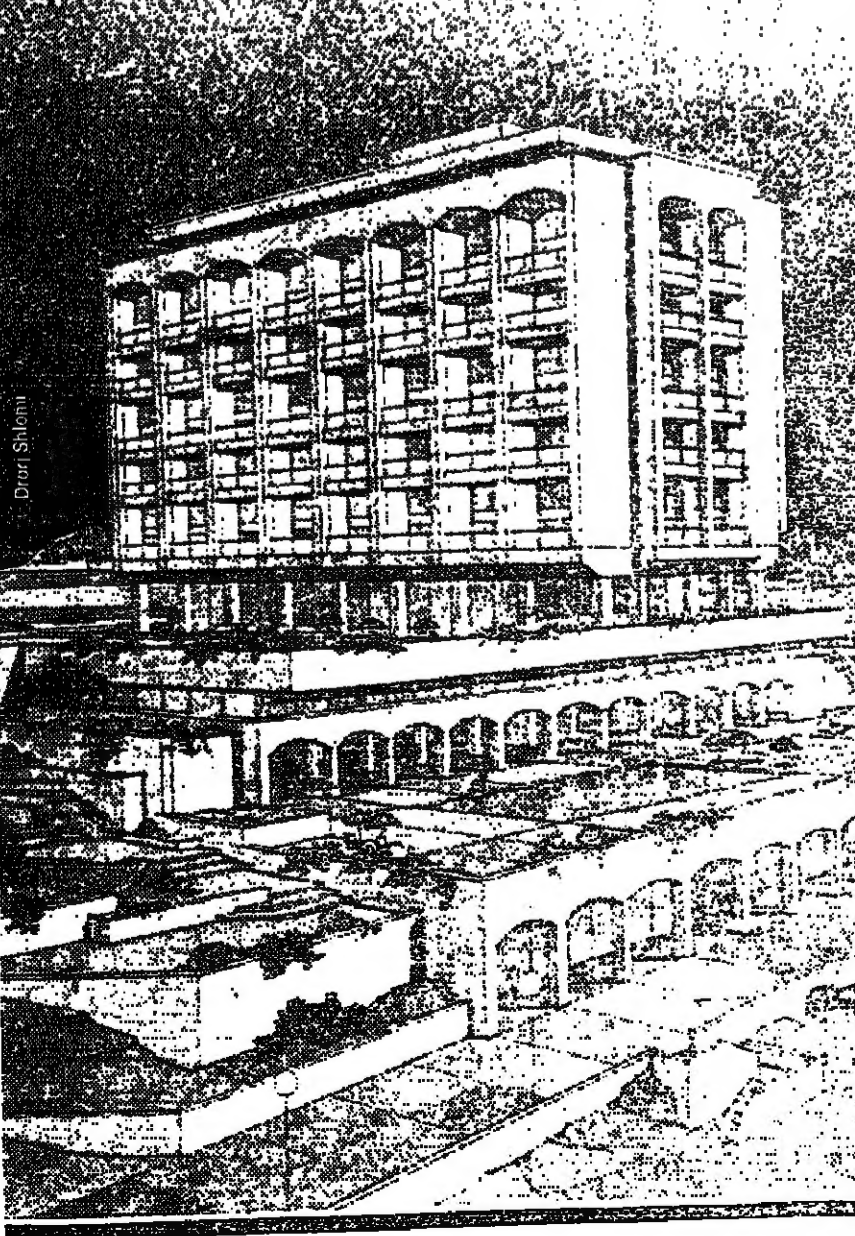
occupier of Arab lands. Nearly 23 per cent of the PLO members are Christian Arabs, a high percentage as the Christian Arabs constitute 8 per cent of the total Arab population in the Holy Land. It is characteristic of a minority to prove that they are as good as the majority, if not better, and the Christian Arabs attempt to prove their loyalty to the Arab nation.

Today, the Catholics of Jerusalem are in a dilemma. They are trapped in the millstones of two cultures which are grinding away their very existence. As Christians they are not considered part of the Arab culture by the Arab Moslems, and as Arabs they are aware of their nationalism and will not integrate within the Israeli or Jewish culture.

Thus their only alternative is to turn to the Western democracies with their opportunities and freedom of expression, and within a generation or two they will surely continue to be faithful to the Church but cease to be counted as Arab Christians. However, Jerusalem will be retained as a spiritual home and some will take the pilgrimage road to strengthen their faith.

The future is hard to predict, but if one reads the passages of the Sermon on the Mount, an answer to the future of the Catholic community of Jerusalem may be found: "Ask, and you will receive; seek and you will find; knock, and the door will be opened to you. For everyone who asks shall receive, he who seeks shall find, and to him who knocks, the door will be opened." (Mat. 7:7,8)

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## מגדל הצוק

מלון הדירות המפואר לחוף ימה של הרצליה



# Time is now ripe for a deal with the Soviets

## U.S. sends mixed signals on Russian role in talks

Arye Naor

LESS THAN two weeks passed between Prime Minister Peres's visit to Washington and his rotative successor Shamir's dinner with Secretary of State George Shultz on a yacht in New York harbor. Two weeks ago U.S. officials heard that Israel was considering the participation of the Soviets in an international conference for Middle Eastern peace.

The Americans were not enthusiastic, but neither did they object to the idea. Shultz even said that he agreed with Peres on the conditions for Soviet participation. For a while it seemed that despite the administration's anti-Soviet rhetoric, a joint American-Israeli line, admitting the Soviets to a peace conference in return for renewing diplomatic ties with Israel and allowing Soviet Jews to emigrate, seemed feasible.

But no longer. On the eve of the rotation Shamir made it explicitly clear that his policy will be quite different. He unconditionally opposes an international peace conference, which he referred to in his UN speech as "an escape from peace," and he does not want anything from the Soviet Union in return for their participation in such a conference. Shamir simply wants them to stay out.

Not surprisingly, the Reagan administration is pleased with Shamir's line more than it has been with Peres's. Without an Israeli consent, no peace conference can meet. Thus Jerusalem holds the keys to Soviet participation in the peace process. It is clear why the U.S. joins Israel

in rejecting the idea of a Soviet influence in the Middle East. Keeping them out means preserving Washington's status as sole arbitrator between Israel and the Arabs.

**BUT SHOULD** Israel oppose this idea strongly? Should we stand at the front of an anti-Soviet bloc, working hard to keep them out of the diplomatic process? Is that in Israel's national interests?

At first sight the answer seems almost obvious. The Soviets are always against us, they supply arms to our enemies, their intrigues have already caused us two or three wars with the Arabs, whose extreme positions are backed by Moscow. Why should we invite them to cause us difficulties and harm our case?

Indeed, the arguments used by Shamir against the participation of the Soviet Union in an international conference sound reasonable. Generally they are based on correct, rational assumptions of Soviet conduct during the process.

Once the conference convenes the Soviet delegation will probably take a position far away from Israel's - both Labour's and Likud's. We will probably be pressed by a Soviet-Arab axis to make more and more concessions. Who needs these troubles?

Should it be decided only or mainly on the grounds of the anticipated balance in the conference, Israel would be wise not to hesitate to reject Soviet participation.

But such a way of thinking reflects



George Shultz (UPI photo)



Yitzhak Shamir (Sven Nackstrand)

launch a public campaign of "Let my people go," and enlisted internationally-known personalities to help out.

But it may be possible to change the approach because for the first time since the establishment of the State of Israel, the Soviets need us in order to achieve their goals. They want an international peace conference, we want Soviet Jews, and on those grounds we might be able to strike a deal.

How far will Moscow go in order to have that conference convene? It is too early to answer. Their first response was not too encouraging, but even superpowers change positions from time to time.

Prior to his meeting with the Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, Peres did not have strong positive signs from Moscow. Nevertheless he stuck to his conditions for inviting the Soviets to participate in the conference, and Shevardnadze did not give the traditional, absolute "noyet."

This is not sufficient to draw optimistic conclusions, but it is sufficient enough to compel us to reassess carefully our policy. We do not yet know if a new policy will free hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews, but suppose we miss the chance to come to "wholesale" terms with the Kremlin

because of reasons of tactical advantage or diplomatic convenience? Could we forgive ourselves? Would history forgive us?

**THIS CONSIDERATION** should influence the government's decision. Of course, any agreement with the Soviets should be implemented in the good old manner of "respect them but suspect them," but there is room for an arrangement which will guarantee each side's *bona fides*.

Israel should not be afraid of an international peace conference. First of all, we should not be afraid of any diplomatic process; and second, we should bear in mind the U.S.'s and Egypt's commitment to a regional settlement and thus coordinate positions with those two delegations at the conference.

He who really believes that there is no alternative to the logic of the Camp David accords - that lacking a permanent territorial solution an interim functional approach should be used to promote peace with consent - should not be afraid to stand this test, if the gates of the Soviet Union are opened for aliya.

Could this be the one-time, historical opportunity to have our brethren return to Zion? We shall never know unless we dare to try.

## On improper relations - Israel and Diaspora

Calev Ben-David

JERUSALEMITES WHO happened to see the unlikely sight of the Statue of Liberty raising her lamp above the walls of the Old City on the night of August 23 were not hallucinating. What they saw was an impressive small-scale facsimile perched adjacent to the Citadel of David.

This incongruous apparition was the work of the United Jewish Appeal (UJA), placed there for use as a stage prop in the dramatic presentation taking place right below in Sultan's Pool. The theme of this programme before an audience of nearly 1,500 visiting American-Jewish fundraisers, was a celebration of the "eternal partnership" between the UJA and Israel, between the Jews of the Diaspora and the citizens of the Jewish state.

However, the forced attempts of the programme to drive home this point at times only served to point up the inherent contradictions of the message: much like the glaring juxtaposition of the symbol of Amer-

ican hospitality rising above the walls of the centre of the Jewish world. For example, the evening was very much tied to the celebration of the centenary of David Ben-Gurion's birth, and speaker after speaker solemnly affirmed that Ben-Gurion had firmly believed in the eternal partnership.

It is indeed true that the unity of all the Jewish people was a conviction central to his ideology, and no doubt Ben-Gurion saw the contributions of Diaspora Jews as invaluable to the creation and continuation of Israel. But to suggest that he saw the relationship between Israel and Diaspora Jewry as either "eternal" or a "partnership" is a blatant perversion of the vision of a fervent Zionist who saw the "ingathering of the exiles" as the most urgent task of the Jewish state.

For Ben-Gurion, there was no equality in the relationship between Jewish existence in Israel and the Diaspora, and he rejected the idea that this relationship was eternal.

He saw aliya as the primary responsibility of Diaspora Jews, and he did not exempt even the most generous, American-Jewish fundraisers.

As he wrote in 1960: "I have the right to see in Zionism something far more profound than sympathy and support for Israel. It is my conviction that Zionism without aliya is nothing more than an empty shell of no substance."

IT IS not the job of the UJA to promote aliya, but rather to raise money for Israel. Its leaders certainly know that to make their contributions feel guilty about not living in Israel would only be counterproductive to fundraising efforts.

It is understandable and justifiable that in their presentations they stress building up the security of Israel, supporting Soviet Jewry, helping new immigrants from Ethiopia, in fact, anything but promoting aliya from the U.S.

What is not acceptable, however, is misrepresenting or denying the vision of the founders of the Jewish state in regard to its relationship to Diaspora Jewry. The UJA does this with a degree of innocence, but in essence they end up supporting the deliberate efforts of American-Jewish thinkers like Charles Silberman and Jacob Neusner, to challenge the centrality of Israel in modern Jewish existence.

As Silberman convincingly demonstrates in his book *A Certain People*, support for Israel can serve as a means by which American Jewry strengthens its own identity to the point that it believes its own continuation is an equally indispensable element to the survival of the Jewish people.

In the meantime, North American aliya remains at insignificant levels. This has very little to do with ideology, but what is alarming about the work of men like Avishai and Neusner is that they indeed try to justify the lack of aliya on a Jewish-ideological level.

Not satisfied that the desire to be a good American is enough reason not



to leave the U.S., they contend that they can live even more "fulfilling" Jewish lives in the Diaspora. Their articulate arguments are not much more than intellectualized versions of the oft-heard claims of American-Jewish benefactors that they are more valuable to the Jewish people by supporting Israel from afar.

Such justifications are hardly necessary at a time when Israeli yordim living in the U.S. outnumber American olim in Israel. The arguments against aliya for American Jews should derive from their

national birthright and all the advantages that it entails, and not rationalizations to pump-up American-Jewish pride.

If Jacob Neusner wishes to remain in his native U.S., it is not necessary for him to have written recently in *The Jerusalem Post* that "Jewish Israelis are family to us, and we to them: isn't that enough?" And if the UJA wants to raise money for Israel, they surely do not have to go to the lengths of plopping the Statue of Liberty on top of the walls of Jerusalem.

## Pitfalls in Holland

THE PRINCIPLES of tolerance and anti-discrimination which in Holland are considered among the pillars of Dutch society seem very simple. Any discrimination - racial, religious, sexual or whatever - is reprehensible and, where it involves members of a minority group, is even a criminal offence.

But what if members of a certain minority group discriminate or are alleged to discriminate for religious reasons against members of another such group? Which principle must then prevail: that of tolerance or that of the right of a minority group to maintain their own value system?

Last month saw two such clashes of principles, one case concerning Jews, the other, Moslems.

**AMSTERDAM'S** Maimonides Lyceum, the only Jewish secondary school in Holland recently refused to enroll a 12-year-old boy for the coming school year because his mother is not halachically Jewish.

The boy's Jewish father, however, decided to sue the school for racial discrimination. The Amsterdam District court ruled that as a denominational school, the Maimonides Lyceum is entitled to draw up its own rules regarding its admissions policy.

Press reaction to the school's policy has been critical. A frequent

media claim has been that a group which has been so often the victim of discrimination is now the guilty party itself.

Meanwhile in Zwolle, the capital of the province of Overijssel, a group of Moslems have also come under criticism. The Zwolle municipality had made available to a group of Surinamese Moslems a couple of school rooms in a disused school for use as a mosque. All went well until the municipality also gave out some other rooms in the school to the Zwolle branch of the Dutch Association of Homosexuals, essentially recognized body.

The Moslems immediately protested and when their protests were to no avail, they occupied the building, preventing the homosexuals entrance. The Moslems claim that the Koran forbids homosexuality.

Should the Surinamese Moslems be able to adhere to their religious beliefs or should they, because they are now living in Holland out of their own free choice, accept the Dutch standard of tolerance towards homosexuality?

The Zwolle municipal executive is currently sticking to its principle that any discrimination is odious, even if carried out by Moslems.

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## FEATURES

REMEMBRANCE is a central motif in all Jewish holidays. Rosh Hashana, however, is singled out as the Day of Remembering. *Yom ha-Zichronot*. On that day we embark on a new year, the pages of the calendar are as yet blank, there is nothing yet to remember, and nevertheless we are called upon to celebrate the New Year as a day of memory.

The memory which marks Rosh Hashana is of a special kind. Like all memory it deals with the past, but to the same extent it deals also with the future. Remembering the future is what we are taught on Rosh Hashana as we enter the realm of a new, as yet unknown, year.

We do not come into the new year as complete strangers, puzzled and perplexed as to what it has in store for us. Jewish time is time transpiring "before God," and the memory of which we talk about in the Rosh Hashana liturgy refers to this particular time. This memory does not appear as dead leaves torn out of past years' calendars; it is rather time shared with God and his people Israel, and as such contains past and future in one breath.

Surely we do not come to the new year naked, uprooted, utterly new. We come with whatever we are and have been hitherto, not to be born again, new, but to be renewed. The future which lies ahead of us is not a threatening stranger, but a hopeful ally. It is part of the memory of our being, remembered by our creator who is also the creator of the universe and recorded in the annals of the collective memory of Israel.

# Remembering the future

TORA TODAY / Pinhas Peli

The Rosh Hashana liturgy calls out to God who remembers: *attā zocher*, "You remember" and we plead to be remembered *zochrenu lehayim*, "remember us for life." The very fact that there is someone, somewhere, who remembers us gives substance, meaning and stability to our lives. Being remembered is being alive.

ZICHRONOT, a collection of scriptural verses dealing with the theme of remembrance, spanning from the beginning of creation to our own days, is one of the three sections added to the Rosh Hashana liturgy. The other two are *malchuyot*, a collection of biblical verses dealing with the theme of God's kingship and *shofrot*, a similar collection which tells about the role of the shofar at various occasions mentioned in the Bible.

Joseph Albo (1380-1444) takes these three liturgical themes to argue support of his position in the debate which took place in medieval Jewish philosophy as to the number of binding principles of faith (*ikkarim*) required in Judaism. Albo (contrary to Maimonides who required 13 principles) holds that the number of bind-

ing principles is three. They are: existence of God, belief in reward and punishment and divine revelation. Those three are, according to Albo, represented by the three marked sections of the ancient Rosh Hashana liturgy.

*Malchuyot*, Kingship, corresponds to the principle of the existence of God.

*Zichronot*, remembrance, stands for the second principle, the belief in reward and punishment. We, as well as our deeds, are not lost in an empty void, but are duly "remembered" and accounted.

And finally, the third principle of faith, divine revelation, is represented by the *shofrot* that sounded aloud at the scene of revelation on Mount Sinai (see Exodus 19:16, 19).

Rosh Hashana, through its three major themes, comes to awaken our memory to the fact that we are not alone in this world, nor is this world forgotten and abandoned to sink into despair of purposelessness. It is a world "remembered," it has a beginning, as well as an end, and there is someone who rules it. Creation and judgment are the two interdependent themes of the day.



Albert Dürer's 'creation of light' on the first Rosh Hashana.

RAV SAADYA GAON, one of the great medieval Jewish philosophers, hears all this and more in the sound of the shofar. He finds no fewer than ten reasons for the sounding of the shofar on Rosh Hashana.

The first reason: because this day is the beginning of creation. On it God created the world and rules over it. Just as it is with kings on the start of their reign - trumpets and horns are blown to make it known and heard in every place - thus it is when we designate the Creator as

king on this day, as David said: "With trumpets and sound of shofar shout ye before the king, the Lord" (Psalms 98:6).

The second reason: because the day of New Year is the first in the ten days of repentance, the shofar is sounded on it as a warning, saying: "Whoever wants to repent - let him repent; and if he does not, let him repent himself. Thus do the kings, first they warn the people of their decrees, then if one violates a decree

after the warning, his excuse is not accepted."

The third reason: to remind us of Mount Sinai, as it is said: "The blare of the shofar grew louder and louder" (Exodus 19:9).

The fourth reason: to remind us of the words of the prophets that were compared to the sound of the shofar (Isaiah 58:1).

The fifth reason: to remind us of the destruction of the Temple and the sound of the battle cries of the enemies, as it is said: "Because thou hast heard, O my soul, the sound of the shofar, the alarm of war" (Jeremiah 4:19). When we hear the sound of the shofar, we will ask God to rebuild the Temple.

The sixth reason: to remind us of the binding of Isaac who offered his life to heaven. We too declare our readiness to offer our lives for the sanctification of His name.

The seventh reason: when we hear the sound of the shofar we will be fearful, we will tremble and humble ourselves before the Creator, as it is written: "Shall the shofar be blown in a city and the people not tremble?" (Amos 3:6).

The eighth reason: to recall the day of the great judgment, as it is said: "The great day of the Lord is near... a day of the shofar and alarm" (Zephaniah 1:14-16).

The ninth reason: to remind us of the ingathering of the scattered ones of Israel, that we ardently desire, as it is said: "And it shall come to pass in that day, that a great horn shall be blown, and they shall come that were lost in the land of Assyria... and they

shall worship the Lord in the holy mountain at Jerusalem" (Isaiah 27:13).

The tenth reason: to remind us of the resurrection of the dead and the belief in it, as it is said: "All ye inhabitants of the world, and ye dwellers on the earth, when an ensign is lifted up on the mountain see ye, and when the shofar is blown, hear ye" (Isaiah 18:3).

THE SYNOPTIC memory of Rosh Hashana starts with creation and takes us all the way to the "world to come." When God first created the world He already "remembered" it until the last of days, when this world will become through our efforts and His help, a perfect world.

Yom Kippur represents a moment of truth, when we look into ourselves and review our past action; Rosh Hashana, the beginning of the new year, represents a moment of hope. The very opening of a new page in the book of life implies the hope that more days of blessing would follow. *Al kenekave*, "therefore we hope," are the opening words of a prayer which occupied a central place in the liturgy of Rosh Hashana. The closing words of the same prayer are *bayom ha-hu*, "on that day," a day in the future well "remembered" now. "God will be One and His name One." The moment of hope which is given to us on Rosh Hashana allows us a glimpse into the perfect future towards which every new year brings us somewhat closer.

Rabbi Peli is Professor of Jewish Thought and Literature, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

## Paris peeved by Arab terror and the American invasion

SRAYA SHAPIRO

PARIS, revisited last month, seemed much like home to the Israeli visitor used to the banality of bomb-scores. But the Parisians took the matter very much to heart. "Don't go to the big department stores," tourists were advised by anxious hosts. And a financial commentator urged television viewers not to sell their *Galeries Lafayette* and *Printemps* shares at a loss, because business was sure to revive once the bomb-throwers were apprehended.

There had been nothing like this in France since the Algerian war, one was reminded. But the difference was that this time it was an internal quarrel, a dispute between Frenchmen about how to preserve France's greatness.

The recent bombings were the work of foreigners, who chose French territory - and French citizens - to pursue their fights with other nations. How dare they! After all the tolerance the authorities had shown to Arab terrorists in the past! Georges Ibrahim Abdallah, the man whose release the terrorists are demanding would never have been tried and sentenced had not the Americans put their foot down and demanded the punishment of the man who had obviously orchestrated the murder of an American military attaché and an Israeli diplomat. So charged Abdallah's lawyer charged

in a TV interview, declaring that such meddling in French affairs by Americans was disgusting and offensive.

AMERICANS are not very popular in France. Not because of their politics - except for the die-hard Communists, nobody seems to think of an alternative; but because of the growing impact of the American way of life on French behaviour.

More than half the films shown in French cinemas and on television are American (though dubbed in French). American jazz often infiltrates background music in the stores.

The authorities are very worried about the purity of French language. They resent dozens of English words and expressions permeating French writing and the host of American-style abbreviations people have introduced into their speech. They talk about "info flash," for instance, an unheard-of barbarism 50 years ago. Moreover, a number of big French firms have been bought up by Americans, and the French executives are required to report to the new directors in American English.

Definitely, greatness, which is what the French cherish most, which was theirs since the *Roi Soleil*, the greatness De Gaulle was so dramatically leading France back to, is elud-

ing them. It is only to be expected that today's leaders should be doing their utmost to recover it.

MEANWHILE, what the Arab bombings have achieved - or had, in mid-September - was to imbue all Frenchmen with a sense of unity unparalleled even in wartime. Forgotten the vexations of the "co-existence" between the president and the prime minister (how familiar to us Israelis!). Even the Communists, who at first claimed that the reasons for the bombing must be understood, joined in the universal condemnation.

But everybody spoke, too, of the need to go on living "as if nothing has happened," to maintain their *sang-froid*, and not to criticize President Mitterrand for going off on a trip to Indonesia in the middle of the crisis, because that showed just how calmly the French were taking things.

Prime Minister Jacques Chirac - an affable man in a grey suit, who speaks calmly in a well articulated voice - vowed repeatedly on television that "there will be no submission to blackmail."

One had a feeling that he thought he would not be believed by the public. Well, hardly a week later, the French government convened the UN Security Council on the trumped-up charge that it was the presence of 500 Israeli soldiers in South Lebanon that had caused the death of French members of Unifil.

The most intelligent announcer of television's Channel 3, a woman who commands respect for her dry sense of humour and her modest dress, obviously did not believe in the official explanations. She said she assumed that the U.S. would veto the anti-Israel resolution, and then the French would have an excuse for withdrawing their contingent from Lebanon.

The whole incident is that much more puzzling because the very presence of the French in Lebanon in the past century was justified by their protection of the Christians in the Levant. Now, they seem to be seeking the goodwill of the Shi'ite Moslems, whose tactic is to chase the Christians out of the security zone together with their Israeli supporters.

HOW DOES Paris of today compare with one's memory of it for over 50 years? One tends to reply that it has not changed at all. But that, of course, is false.

Paris now has quietly-running shining green-and-cream buses with upholstered seats, instead of the noisy vehicles with open platforms at the rear from which passengers used to jump while the bus was still moving. The Metro is quieter and better-lit, so that one can read in it without straining one's eyes.

From the top of Montmartre one sees the new skyline of Paris, dotted with high-rises, like any big city in the world (including Jerusalem). The police generally wear round

hats, like their central-European colleagues, instead of the characteristic *kepi* of the past. Gone are the Russian taxi-drivers, and the Russian restaurants, but the Chinese and Indonesian eating-places are plentiful.

Gone, too, are the Russian Jews, who constituted the bulk of the Jewish community after World War I, and who would fill the Mutualité hall whenever Vladimir Jabotinsky was speaking in Russian. They filled the hall too, when three Jews from Germany came to seek support in their opposition to Hitler, who was then gaining strength.

"We hope that after reaching power, Hitler will be restrained by a sense of responsibility," one of the emissaries declared.

Jewish friends who lived in Paris during the occupation tell harrowing stories of their experiences. But few decided to cut their ties with the past and come to Israel.

"Paris is not what it used to be - the *jolie de vivre* has gone out of it. But it is still Paris, the only place in the world one can imagine living in," a friend said over a meal in a restaurant, with a group of sleekly-combed businessmen discussing affairs at one neighbouring table, and a Japanese couple discovering French life at another.

For, as with the woman we love in spite of everything, one always retains a soft spot for Paris in one's heart. Paris of the past. Paris of the future. Paris that struggles hard to be part of the modern world.



Window-shopping outside the Galerie Lafayette, where bombs killed two persons last year. (Reuters)

I HADN'T seen my daughter for over a year and the last time she visited Israel was two years ago. She decided that as she and her fiancé were on holiday in Cyprus last month, they would come and visit me from there for a couple of days. Her boyfriend had never been to Israel before, and he was much in resistance, like so many Diaspora Jews, to coming here.

The two days they were in Israel passed all too quickly and it was soon time to take them to the airport. I dropped them at the entrance to Ben-Gurion and took my car to the parking lot. On rejoining them at their check-in desk, I looked around. I had never seen such security precautions at the airport in all the years I had come and gone.

My daughter and her fiancé were standing at the table, with their overnight bags empty, and all their pieces of clothing piled high on the table in front of them. This was the case for all passengers, every package, no matter its size, was being opened.

My daughter was being cross-examined by the security officer. Her bewildered boyfriend was standing by her side, answering the odd question directed at him. After having taken everything out of their hand luggage, which was all they had, this security officer then strode off to fetch a senior security officer, who was making arrangements to question my daughter and her fiancé in her office.

The two officials returned in a few minutes, and the senior officer, a

## Family farewell

DAPHNE YOUNG

young woman, asked me who I was. I told her, and confirmed that my daughter had been to visit me. After several other questions she said "OK, that's fine" and rounded on my daughter. "Why in two years, which is the last entry stamped in your passport to Israel, have you visited your mother and Israel only once?" she demanded. My daughter ex-

plained that they had come from Cyprus where they were on holiday, to see me. The security officer, a good-looking sabra, said vehemently, "You ought to be ashamed of yourself. You have a mother living in Israel. I make it my business to visit her at least twice a week. You only come once every two years! Don't

you have any guilt feelings?" Somewhat taken aback, my daughter replied, "My mother was in England last year." "That's nothing to do with it!" retorted the young woman severely. "It's been over one year since you have seen your mother. You should be here much more often - you only have one mother, and for that matter, only one Israel."

My daughter's boyfriend, who is very British, looked amazed. His mouth dropped open. He could not get over that a government official was in no uncertain terms reminding my daughter of her filial duty. My daughter laughed. She turned to him and said, "Don't be cross Alan. I love it. That's why I came to Israel, because everybody is family here,

and do you know something, she is quite right."

Turning to me, my daughter said "Mummy, I deserved that. I will make it my business to come here much more regularly if you can't visit England."

"Never mind," I said, "although I'll keep you to that. I hope your flight will be OK. I have never seen security like this at the airport. Perhaps they have heard there is some kind of terrorist action somewhere." With fond farewells, they kissed me and went through passport control.

CHUCKLING to myself all the way back to Tel Aviv, I reflected on the young security officer's comments to my daughter. She had told my

daughter exactly what I had wanted to say, thereby saving me an argument.

The following morning I had a phone call from Cyprus. "We thought we should tell you that we are perfectly safe," yelled my daughter down the phone.

"I am sure you are," I answered. "Why did you need to call?" My daughter then explained the Karachi hijacking the day before, saying I had been quite right about the airport alert at Ben-Gurion.

She then added, "you were also right about me not being a dutiful daughter - or at least the security officer was. I will be with you for Rosh Hashana, with or without Alan!"



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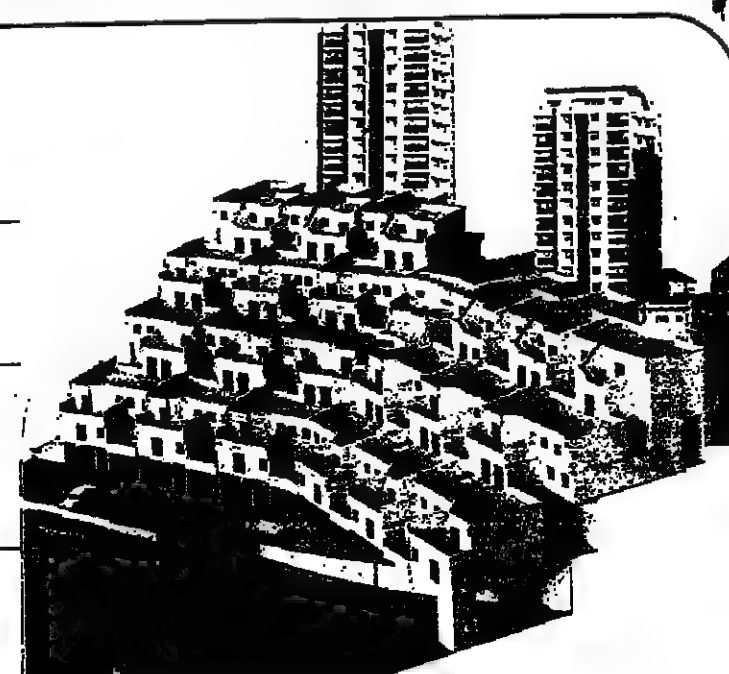
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AS Ecclesiastes should have said but didn't. "Let us now praise famous nannies and our surrogate mothers who did not beget us, but nurtured us, for the Lord hath wrought great wonders through them through his great power from the beginning."

This paeon of praise is inspired, of course, by Mira Hamermesh's thought-provoking documentary, *Maid and Madam*.

One of the profound mysteries that perplexes all Israelis is why settlers coming here from South Africa are so wonderful. No other immigrants are so undemanding, so disciplined, so willing to endure the insolence of office, so adaptable, so flexible, so eternally optimistic, so cheerful in the face of all difficulties, so constructive and imaginative in their contributions to the Israeli way of life.

I once advanced a theory to explain why South Africans are such terrific immigrants. My suggestion was that they are too superficial to comprehend what is hitting them from the moment they set foot in the Promised Land, and too busy trying to adjust to becoming Israelis to worry about whether they are enjoying the process.

Americans, on the other hand, are obliged by their Declaration of Independence to engage in the pursuit of happiness, so they have to ask themselves constantly whether they are catching up with that bluebird in Israel. All too often they decide that the answer is in the negative, and folding their tents like the Arabs, they silently steal away, and go home to the U.S. to live unhappily there ever afterwards.

This theory, while excellent, has its limitations: it explains in which way South Africans are superior to other settlers, but not how they got that way. We see the result, but not the cause. When I saw Hamermesh's film, the truth was revealed to me at

# In praise of some famous nannies

TELEREVIEW/Philip Gillon

last. South Africans are brought up, not by their parents, but by their black nannies. Hence the panegyric with which I opened this piece.

The film was very good and very accurate as far as it went, but of necessity there were gaps immediately clear to present and former South Africans: this was an outsider's film. Hamermesh looked from the outside at the relationship between madam and her family on the one side and the maid on the other; she saw the exploitation of human labour, and the cruelty of the system. She did not penetrate deeply enough to see the relationship from the inside.

Apart from an early shot in which we saw Mrs. Simon Legree outlining her conditions of employment to a prospective maid, Hamermesh avoided dealing with the white misus who is a ghastly feudal tyrant. Instead she concentrated on concerned white women with active consciences, many of whom are trying to help the maids to get better conditions of work and to improve their education. Working within the framework of apartheid, they do everything in their power to help the maids evade the oppression of the laws.

The film showed that there is precious little that these concerned women can do. The law is the law, and, as long as it continues to be on the statute-books, there are strict limits as to what the white women can do for the maids. Slavery enslaves the slaver as well as the slave.

But the film did not bring out the warmth and humanity that ties many families to their employees. These relationships endure for many years, sometimes for decades. The nanny is like a great tree providing shade

against the heat of the sun: they protect the children from the love of the parents, or from any absurd ideas of disciplining them.

As we saw in the film, the nanny's situation is cruel and anomalous - she brings up the children of another woman and neglects her own, who are left in the village to be raised by grandmothers or aunts. In such a situation, no nanny would be blamed if she put the white babies into the deep freeze as soon as madam departed for her office, university, Zionism or other good cause, or golf or whatever interesting experience filled her day instead of domesticity.

In practice, however, the nanny treats the white child with endless love and good humour. Seldom does she raise her voice in anger or imposition: never does she try to impose discipline. The child grows up, incredible as it may seem, in a daytime land of easy laughter. In the evening, he may be handed over to his parents, but they will be relaxed after a day spent in adult company.

With such a good upbringing, it is no wonder that the South Africans turn out so well. Sometimes I worry about Israeli children, doomed to be brought up by harassed and irritable parents trying to fit child-raising into a pattern of intense overwork and ambition. Israeli maids are not relaxed like their South African sisters: like their employers, they work under intense pressure, and bring their own family troubles into their employers' homes.

Does this mean that I recommend the South Africa system? Of course not. I know that apartheid is soul-destroying, and that the sooner it

disappears from the face of earth, the better life will be for all concerned, whites as well as blacks. Nevertheless, I insist that we praise South African nannies before they become a vanishing species.

I realize that I may have sounded somewhat patronizing in my references to Hamermesh's film. If so, I apologize to her. I hasten to assert that it was an original and very sensitive film that avoided using clichés of thought, situations and slogans.

Generally, Israel Television, I am pleased to note, seems to have been taken over by somebody with a strong pro-black bias. First we had that very good Jesse Owens serial, in which the blacks wore the white hats and the whites wore the black hats. Then came this film on South Africa. Finally, from England we got *To Sir With Love*, in which Sidney Poitier plays the part of a black teacher inspiring a bunch of potential hoodlums in the East End of London to seek the nobler things of life.

Poitier and the entire cast acted superbly. It was very sentimental, but I happen to like lashings of sentiment in certain films, and this was one of them. I was deeply moved when I saw the film on the big screen, and even more moved when I saw it again on the little screen after a lapse of years. Not many films can pass so stringent a test.

THE Israel Broadcasting Authority and the Israel Football Association covered themselves with ignominy over the weekend. Israel Television was a party to the failure to supply soccer fans with even the minimal

service they were entitled to expect under any and all circumstances.

A financial dispute between the two bodies resulted in IBA's decision not to show the soccer games of the day on *Mabat Sport*, as had similarly been the case earlier in the day, when neither reports nor results were broadcast on Kol Yisrael. The IBA is an interested party but there is no reason why they couldn't have presented both sides of the case. If they feel that they cannot attain the necessary objectivity to do so, they should not have exclusive control of television.

The failure to give even the results on either radio or television, on sports programmes or news programmes was even worse. This was a clear dereliction of duty for which somebody's head should roll. What happened in Saturday's matches was hard news. Hundreds of thousands of investors in Sportoto - urged to make these investments by seductive advertisements on IBA - were waiting to find out whether they had made a fortune, or had lost their boots. Providing them with the results would not have affected the dispute with the IFA. The failure seems to have been an act of pure malice. Abie Nathan, that man of charity, tried to fill the breach, but not every listener had the sagacity to switch off the television or radio news and turn to Abie.

If the IBA were to quarrel with the Ministry of Defence, would they refuse to announce on the news that a war had broken out? The broadcasting law obliges them to supply the news. They broke the law. Somebody should pay.

Seldom could a surly act have been so poorly timed. On Sunday, the Cabinet approved the creation of



a second TV station. Uri Porai, the director-general of the IBA, has been waging a propaganda war to give the IBA control of this station. The abuse of monopoly power, coinciding with the government's decision, was hardly a good argument for his cause.

Like every other viewer in Israel, I am delighted by the prospect of getting a second channel. Irrespective of who runs it, the government

will insist that the station promote Israeli creative work. We got a New Year gift in the form of an international award for *Bread*, that excellent documentary about Yehoram. During the year, Julian Chagrin's *Orchestra* went from success to success. We have the ability to make good TV films; now we should have the means. Do not let us dissipate this second chance - let that be our New Year resolution.

## "FORSAKE ME NOT"

THE SEVENTH annual Forsake Me Not campaign got off to an auspicious start on the eve of Rosh Hashana, as thousands of volunteers distributed packages of wine, fruit, honey and sweets to 30,000 elderly in 50 cities, settlements and development towns throughout the country.

The project was organized by the Volunteer Unit of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs and subsidized by the Forsake Me Not campaign.

When the Forsake Me Not campaign began six years ago, it was intended to be a one-time special effort to make up for cutbacks the government was imposing on the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. The hardest hit were the aged, who did not have the means to fend for themselves. But the needs have kept growing and the campaign has become an annual event with the widespread support of our readers all over the world.

The sixth annual Forsake Me Not campaign and the 37th annual Toy Fund closed this past month. Thanks to the generosity of our readers, the totals reached were very impressive.

To all our contributors, especially those who have been sending cheques on a regular basis, we wish to express our sincere thanks. We are also grateful to all the organizations, Hebrew day schools and local bridge clubs who supported the funds throughout the year.

This year, with a little more effort and the continued help of our readers, we hope to surpass last year's totals and do much more for the elderly.

If you send a message to be printed with your contribution, please be sure to print it clearly.

Send your cheques to - The Jerusalem Post, P.O.B. 81, 91000 Jerusalem.

NIS 500 Anonymous, Jerusalem.

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NIS 200 Alvin Levy, Jerusalem. Mr. and Mrs. Louis Katol.

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NIS 160 Moshe Yarosky, Hof Hacarmel.

NIS 150 H.L. and R. Segal, Herzliya Bet.

NIS 120 In loving memory of Esther Womart and Emilie J. Lustig - their children Alfred Womart and Eva Lustig Womart.

NIS 100 Mr. and Mrs. A.M. Karol, Ramatana.

NIS 100 Mr. and Mrs. Y. Cohen, Ramatana.

NIS 100 In memory of my father, Bernard D. Cohen - Judy Ann Cohen, Jerusalem. In memory of our beloved ones - R. and A.S. In honour of my sister's 90th birthday - C.H. "XYZ", Haifa. In memory of my father Sol Stauch - Esther Hecht.

NIS 88 Beit Hachaim Friends of Regina Medin.

NIS 75 Emanuel Baruch, BeerSheva. Anonymous, Arel, Anonymous, Ramat Aviv.

NIS 65 70 Kitty Frank, Jerusalem.

NIS 50 In memory of my mother, Bertha and Simon Bogner and family - Anonymous Kira Savat - Happy New Year to my brother Harry and his family - Anonymous Kira Savat.

NIS 50 Anonymous, Jerusalem. R.H.H. NIS 50 Anonymous, Haifa. In memory of my brother, Dr. Ludwig Samuel - Eva Samuel, Bilham Steinberg, Haifa. In honour of the 90th birthday of my favourite aunt, Herta.

NIS 40 In memory of my mother, Mrs. Margalit Hader and Margalit and Noshka Gid of Haifa, Israel. Dinesh and Esther Vadenberg, Rishon LeZion.

A happy and beautiful year for the cause and those who work for it - Miriam B. Dobrow, Kibbutz Ramat Yohanan. In loving memory of my beloved parents and grandparents, Alchona (Chonnie) and Lena Epstein - Pauline, Russell, Tom, Ashi and Jonathan. In the name of my grandmother Anna, towards making the New Year easier and sweeter for our old folk - June Gabran, Ramat Hasharon, Anna Ahmad, Ramat Gan, Chana Ben Shlomo, Gevina, To L. & H. for their birthday - Anonymous, Haifa. S. Duker, Jerusalem. Mrs. Levison, Haifa. M. Pisante, Paris, France. In memory of Prof. Zulfar - Esther Hecht.

NIS 47 For sasha Leah and saba Chaim on Nov. 6th - happy 47th wedding anniversary! May we all be together here on your Golden Wedding Anniversary - lovingly, Yacov, Edith, Yehuda, Batia, Orli, Bracha and Thilla Barad, Kibbutz Kfar Ezion.

NIS 40 Felix and Clara Lapadot, Givatayim.

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NIS 22.60 Kibbutz Yabai.

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NIS 20 Anonymous, Harrison, NY. Siki Haiman, England. John and Lorraine Broughton, Cottage Grove, OR.

NIS 18 In memory of my mother, Ester Ungersheim and my father, Jacob Potonick, and in honour of Mr. and Mrs. Bani, Kibbutz Ma'atza, Mr. and Mrs. Shol Rudinsky and Mrs. Fibi Delky, Pasco, WA. - from Batia, Samuel, Raz, and Shir Regav, Kamekwick, WA. In memory of our beloved parents - Victor and Lilian Calosci, Haifa. In loving memory of my mother, Rachel Elit - Esther Brownstein, Far Rockaway, NY. Irving and Violet Lachman, Swarthmore, PA. In memory of Uri Spiegel - Mr. and Mrs. Irvin Selevan, Lawrence, NY.

NIS 10 In memory of my mother, Mrs. Morris and Goldie Kish, Ramatana. Wishing a happy and healthy new year to my good friends, Simcha Dov and Hilda Katz - from Jean Westow, Netanya, Jerusalem. In memory of the son of Mr. and Mrs. Chabriel and family, Kiyat Tivon - from Diane and Amiram Viozok, Ann Arbor MI. Happy birthday Charlotte - from life, Ipe and Yucky, Jacob Goldberg and Pearl Levine, Springfield, MA. In memory of my parents, Max and Bella Hanish - Phil Hanish, Terre Haute, IN. Dr. and Mrs. M.N. Cohen, Bloomfield, CT.

NIS 10 In memory of our fathers David Stein and Leo Altman - Chana and Steve Stein, Elat, Anonymous.

CAN25 Max Sally Rubinfeld, Montreal, Canada.

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210 L. Mezzyk, London, England. Ruth Wilers, Middlesex, England.

DM100 Harry Zuckerman, Imrad Meyer, Lippstadt, West Germany.

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NIS 10 In memory of my mother, Mrs. Morris and Goldie Kish, Ramatana. Wishing a happy and healthy new year to my good friends, Simcha Dov and Hilda Katz - from Jean Westow, Netanya, Jerusalem. In memory of the son of Mr. and Mrs. Chabriel and family, Kiyat Tivon - from Diane and Amiram Viozok, Ann Arbor MI. Happy birthday Charlotte - from life, Ipe and Yucky, Jacob Goldberg and Pearl Levine, Springfield, MA. In memory of my parents, Max and Bella Hanish - Phil Hanish, Terre Haute, IN. Dr. and Mrs. M.N. Cohen, Bloomfield, CT.

NIS 10 In memory of our fathers David Stein and Leo Altman - Chana and Steve Stein, Elat, Anonymous.

CAN25 Max Sally Rubinfeld, Montreal, Canada.

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## Entertainment guide

The details in the Entertainment column of the Pull-Out section in today's magazine are incorrect. Here is the correct version:

Jerusalem

ADVENTURES IN JAZZ - With well-known musicians. (Pargod, today at 1:30 p.m., Wednesday at 9:30 p.m.)

RALPH OLDER QUARTET - Spanish and gypsy music. (Pargod, Tuesday at 9:30 p.m.)

DANNY GUR ARIZHI - An evening of American folk songs. (Harmony House, 17 Yot Salomon, Thursday at 9:30 p.m.)

DUET FOR GUITARS - Jean Claude Jumeau and Steve Paskoff. (Pargod, Monday at 9:30 p.m.; Harmony House, Tuesday at 9:30 p.m.)

GUITAR CONCERT - Oscar Shei plays South American music, jazz, plus own compositions. (Zionist Confederation House, Emile Bote St., Yemin Moshe, Sunday at 9 p.m.)

HAKEIRA HATITTI - Selection of their new songs. (Pargod, Thursday at 9:30 p.m.)

HASIDIC SONG FESTIVAL - With eight performers, plus orchestra. (Jerusalem Theatre, Sheraton, Sunday at 8:30 p.m.)

HUMOROUS HISTORY - Turvia Tsafir, Dalia Gai and others. Humorous satire on the history of Israel. (Jerusalem Theatre, Sunday at 9 p.m.)

NATHANIEL - Old and new Israeli songs. (Jerusalem Theatre, Rebecca Crown, Sunday at 9 p.m.)

SECOND KISS - Love poems and songs of Berta Israel, with poet Yoram Tishbi-Lev and vocalists, Eyal Katz. (Igud Museum, Tuesday at 8:30 p.m.)

Tel Aviv area

ARIE LAVIE - Sings his songs. (Old Jaffa, El Hama, tomorrow at 10:30 p.m.)

JAZZ - Classical style. (Dan Hotel, tomorrow at 8:30 p.m.)

MATTI CASPI AND THE FARVARDI - Songs from South America. (Old Jaffa, El Hama, Sunday at 10:30 p.m., Thursday at 9:30 p.m.)

WHAT WILL BE WILL BE - Musical programme with Eyal Moshe, Miki Copek, Ravi Gai, the Parvaz and the Dardim. (Old Jaffa, El Hama, Monday at 10 p.m.)

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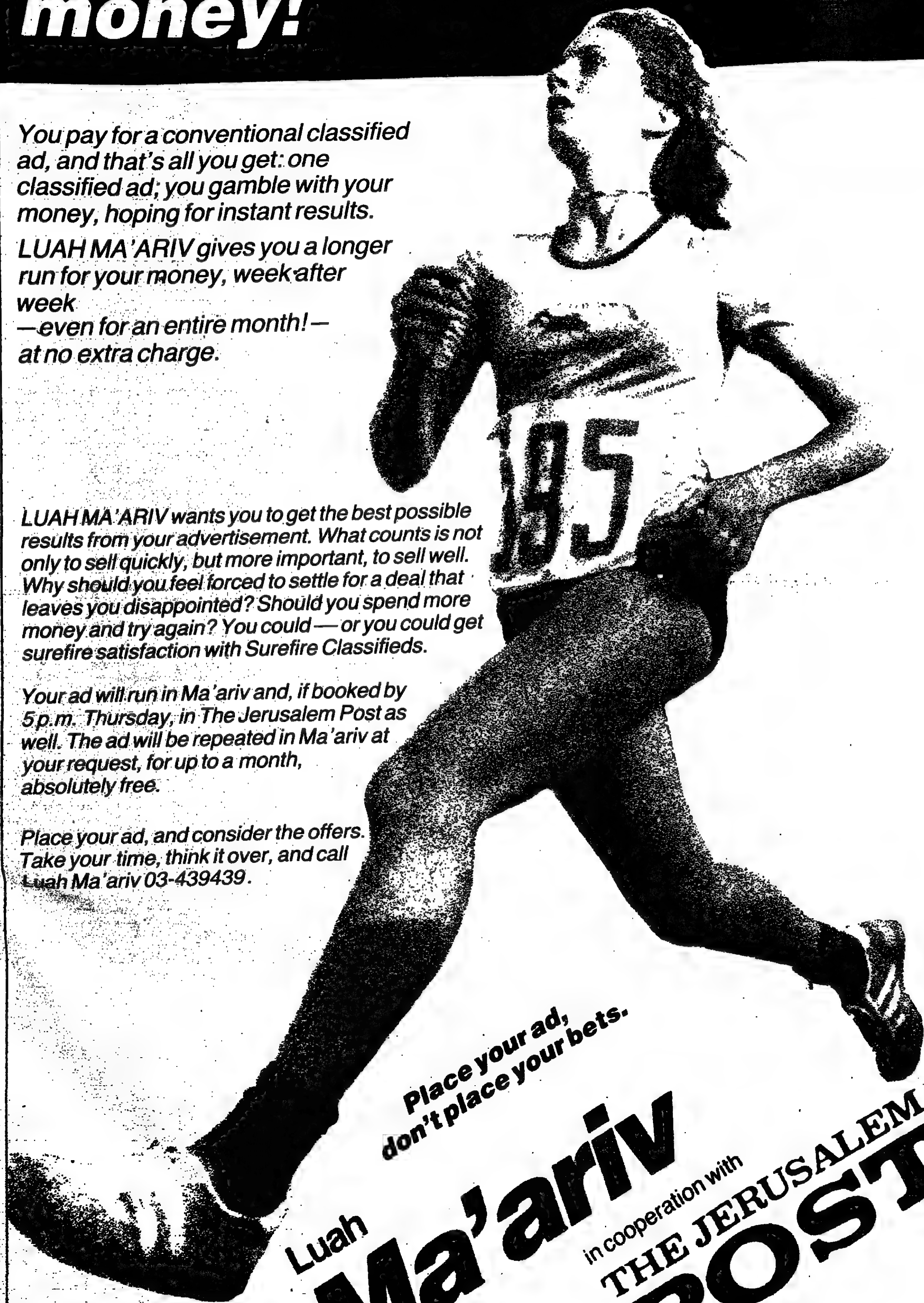
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## Intellectuals battle cultural chauvinism

## Toeing the line in China—not all dare

CHINA is no longer at the centre of the world. Two millennia of cultural chauvinism—the name for China in Chinese is Central Kingdom—have been denounced by Yan Jiaqi, a director at the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

He is a leader of the movement for greater intellectual freedom in China, who not long ago called for an end to state intrusion into every aspect of life, including fashion, habits, joy and grief.

Now Jiaqi has taken on the greatest national myth. "For thousands of years China considered itself the central kingdom and all other peoples barbarians and regarded the knowledge obtained by other countries as trifling skills not worth bothering to learn," he says.

This self-regard rose to an obsession during the Cultural Revolution, but even today, says Jiaqi, many people are reluctant to admit that China is not the "centre" in social sciences. Many young historians believe their discipline to be in crisis. Only recently, according to a senior historian, has party history become more than "the personal record of Mao Tse-Tung."

Other historical truths, long held so sacred by the party that it was worth an historian's life to challenge them, are open to question. "The statement that 'the masses make history' is totally wrong," the editor of the journal *Historic Studies* wrote recently. Ordinary people and

great figures were both important, he said. It was not necessary to regard all history-makers as virtuous; Marx himself observed that evil was the motive power in history.

More impudent still, from a Maoist standpoint, is a new evaluation of peasant rebellions, which for years obedient Chinese historians have termed "progressive." Now a provincial academician has criticized the early rebels for "slowing the pace of productivity in ancient China."

BUT it is hardly surprising if most

"...historical truths, long held so sacred by the party that it was worth an historian's life to challenge them, are open to question."

historians are reluctant to say anything new, contenting themselves instead with chronologies and the repetition of safe theories. According to an article in last week's *China Daily*, historians remain subject to "a fear that grew during the Cultural Revolution when historical research was merely used as a tool in the political struggle."

During the years since the 1949 Communist victory the party has laid down the line on a host of questions that few intellectuals dared to dispute. Communes, Vietnam, the

Soviet Union, the United States and Chiang Kai-shek have, in their time, been deemed red, black, friends, enemies, revolutionary and patriotic.

Even Mao Tse-Tung was for years hailed as The Great Teacher, Great Helmsman and the Greatest Marxist-Leninist of our Time, only to be reappraised in 1981 as arbitrary, stubborn and the maker of tragic errors.

But as all Chinese know, the line can switch more than once. Intellectuals themselves were wooed by the party in the late 1950s. They were persecuted as "the stinking ninth category" for expressing their doubts about major policies until after Mao's death in 1976, when Deng Xiaoping raised them to a leading position in his drive to modernize China. Ironically, Mao too is again being re-evaluated as the source of Mao Tse-Tung Thought, which Deng Xiaoping claims "is still our guiding ideology."

Ideas are deadly, slippery things in China. Most intellectuals will continue to wait for the newest line to emerge from the Central Party School or one of the national academies before they accept the current invitation to "let 100 flowers bloom and 100 schools contend." In 1958, they remember, this invitation was followed by a brutal purge of those who volunteered unacceptable answers.

Observer News Service

BASEBALL One ritually draws a *hai*, the other just works hard

## Wade v. Don—year's final battle

By CHARLES COOPER

For The Jerusalem Post  
NEW YORK. — Now that the play-off matches here have all been decided, the most exciting race in baseball remains not between any two teams, but between two players.

For the past month, Don Mattingly of the New York Yankees and Wade Boggs of the Boston Red Sox have been locked in a neck-and-neck battle for the American League batting championship.

It is a duel that has lasted until the last four games of the season when their two teams meet in Boston this weekend.

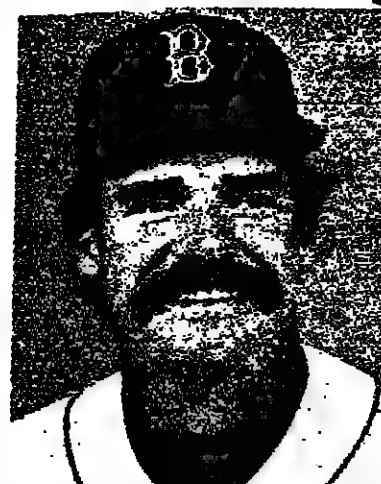
These days, when the sports pages are regularly filled with stories about drug use and strikes, both Mattingly and Boggs, with their Ty Cobb-like batting averages, gung-ho work habits and unassuming natures, have been likened to players from an earlier era.

Boggs was the best in 1983 and 1985 when he won the AL batting title with averages of .361 and .368. Mattingly won the crown in 1984 when he nosed out teammate Dave Winfield on the final day of the season to finish with a .343 average.

Each uses his own home park to the maximum. Mattingly has learned to pull inside pitches to take advantage of Yankee Stadium's short rightfield porch. Boggs has tailored his swing to slap extra base hits off Fenway Park's cozy leftfield fence.

For most of this season, Boggs has led the league in batting. But Mattingly has come on strong over the past month. In late September, he moved into first with a 3.50 average, only to be passed again by Boggs.

The consensus opinion among the



DUEL TO THE FINISH. — Wade Boggs (left) and Don Mattingly.



experts about who is best gives the nod to the Yankee slugger.

"Mattingly is the best player in baseball," declared Detroit Tigers skipper Sparky Anderson. "Bar no-body."

"If I had to choose, Mattingly would be my easy choice," added Mike Geffner, baseball columnist for the Village Voice. "Mattingly hurts you. Boggs doesn't. You don't have to pitch around Boggs, you do with Mattingly."

The big difference between the two batters, they note, is power.

The 28-year-old Boggs is a classical spray hitter. When he won the batting title average last year, Boggs had only eight homers with 78 RBI. This year his home run and RBI production is about the same.

Mattingly too is a spray hitter, but he sprays them longer and with more consistency.

In his first full year in the Majors in 1984, Mattingly hit 23 home runs and 110 RBI. Last year, Mattingly slugged 35 homers and 145 RBI, and carried off the American League's Most Valuable Player award.

That Mattingly has that much punch has been perhaps the biggest surprise. When he first joined the Yankees in 1983, most people thought he would become a slap hitter like Boggs.

"I was born with quick hands and that was a gift," he says. "But I always work hard at trying to get better."

At 25, Mattingly is the first Yankee to lead the league in batting average since Mickey Mantle, and the first to lead in RBI production since Roger Maris. Physically, Mattingly is not an imposing figure, about two inches shorter than the 6

feet, 175-pound description official-

ly listed by the team. What he lacks in natural talent, however, he amply makes up with sweat.

"I always work hard at trying to get better," said Mattingly. "If you have the gift of getting to play in the Majors, you'd better try to ensure that gift or you'll always be an average player."

He says he doesn't follow the race on a scoreboard. But the fans in New York and Boston do. Indeed, now that the Red Sox have locked up the East Division, it's the only excitement left in the division.

"I know I'm in a batting race, but it's too early to be thinking about it," Mattingly repeatedly says. "I don't want to waste any at bats, though. I don't want to waste any, ever."

Boggs, however, is quite candid about where his thoughts are these days.

"It's important (to win the crown)," said Boggs. "It's always important to be the best at what you do."

And he is very open in admitting that he scans the prior night's box score when he receives his morning paper.

"When I come to the Yankees and look three names down in their lineup, I see him."

Boggs has had to battle with personal tragedy this season. His mother died in a head-on auto crash with a truck during the summer. But outwardly, it has not affected the Red Sox star, who still adheres to his daily ritual of eating chicken before games and drawing a Hebrew *hai* when he steps into the batter's box.

Asked why, Boggs, who is not Jewish, shrugged and said: "I don't know, but it brings me luck, so who's going to argue?"

## Security '86—attacks spark big business

## Today's alarms: high tech paint and a resurgence of geese

ESSEN (Reuters). — Ever since cackling geese woke sleeping guards and so saved ancient Rome from invasion by the Goths, people have relied on alarm systems to fend off intruders.

Today the range of gadgets dedicated to deterring burglars, bank robbers and spies is staggering—and a spate of guerrilla attacks in Europe means big business for the 369 firms who ply their wares at a recent international trade fair in Essen called Security '86.

Star of the show was a harmless-looking red vehicle—in reality, a tiny tank with a hydraulic arm for dismantling suspected bombs. It can climb stairs and withstand a five-kg. explosion at a range of one metre.

Viewing the countless locks, safes, metal detectors and video scanners exhibited by 20 countries at the fair, it seems life has never been so hard for the common criminal.

New devices on the market include a green paint which makes the surface of a fence or gate so slippery that would-be intruders are left grasping helplessly to gain a foothold. The paint also leaves an indelible mark on anyone who comes into contact with it.

The exhibition attracted 20,000 people a day, surpassing the expectations of organizers.

"It's not surprising though, in the

present climate," said press spokesman Michael Herdemerten. "All the recent terrorist activity, as well as an upsurge in organized crime, has made people more security-conscious."

Size is the key to some latest products, which include a video camera of 2.4 centimetres dimensions for covert surveillance and a personal pager system so tiny it can be worn as a wrist-watch.

Businessmen crowded around a stall displaying the latest in executive brief-cases—shockproof, fireproof and one which sets off a smoke bomb, staining the contents red if forced open.

West German officials, checking out new equipment for their own use, were impressed by a mobile riot barrier, a coil of vicious-looking barbed wire which can be erected in seconds to control crowds and block-off escape routes.

But several firms voiced doubts about whether the trade fair was attracting quite the kind of customer they wanted.

"Where else can criminals pick up the latest tips—you can't blame them for coming here," said one company spokesman.

One company, which obligingly smashed to smithereens a pane of its reinforced glass twice a day, said its suspicions were raised when one onlooker inquired very closely about

what special instruments were needed to break it.

Discreet contingents from the armed forces, government ministries and embassies also visited the fair, on the look-out for anything to enhance the safety of their premises and personnel.

One machine designed to control access to rooms storing top-secret data identifies people by their eyes. All you do is tap in your personal number, stare into a pair of binoculars and the machine recognizes your eyes, the door opens. The system is based on identification of the make-up of blood vessels in the retina, and everyone's is different.

Another computer allows entry to restricted areas if it recognizes a voice.

Retailing at around \$15,000, these machines are not intended for purchase by the ordinary household.

But people anxious to protect their homes might be interested in a video intercom which not only shows who is ringing your bell but can also print a picture of the visitor.

Meanwhile, the geese who saved Rome in the 4th century B.C. are also back in fashion. The U.S. army based in West Germany has just taken delivery of 900 geese who, it is hoped, will squawk at intruders and alert human guards at air defence and communication sites.

## Secret keels, new designs and top security dominate America's Cup preparations

By REG GRATTON

FREMANTLE (Reuters). — When they say "Down Under" in this west coast Australian port it is unlikely they are referring to Australia.

The four-month battle for the America's Cup, yachting's most famous prize, is due to begin at the beginning of next week and the talk is all about what secrets the foreign challengers are hiding below the waterline.

Since Australia ended 132 years of U.S. domination of the trophy a record 13 syndicates from six countries have spent at least \$120m. on their 1986-87 Cup challenge. And most of them are on a war footing to guard from their rivals details of the precious 12-metre yachts which might damage their chances of winning the coveted trophy when the challenge series starts here on October 5.

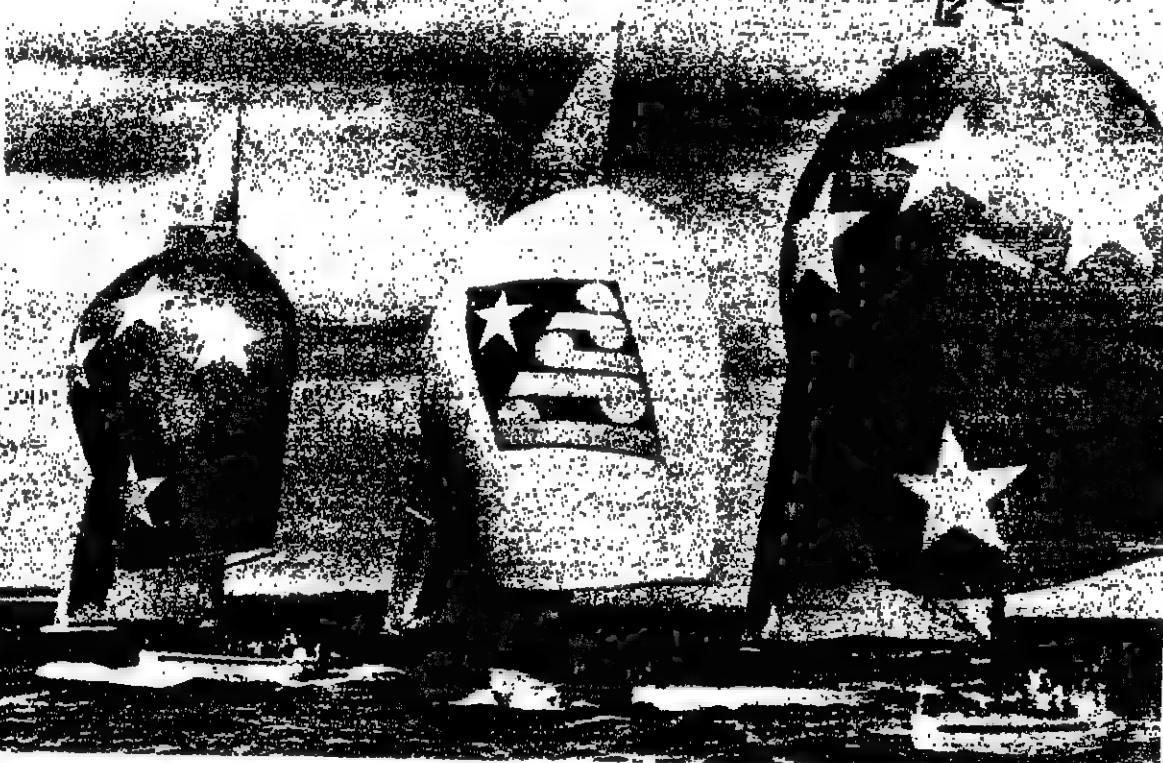
The Australians can be blamed for the current secrecy having covered up the controversial winged keel on *Australia II*, the yacht which beat the New York Yacht Club's (NYC) *Liberty* at Newport, Rhode Island, in September 1983.

The NYC and the winning Australian syndicate, spearheaded by business tycoon Alan Bond, have the tightest security of all at their headquarters on Fremantle harbour. The New York club set up its centre here more than two years ago and with its high-wire fencing and security guard patrols is running the most ruthless of all the campaigns to regain the "Auld mug."

"They're tremendously desperate, they've worked hard, they've done their homework," Royal Perth Yacht Club commodore Alan Crews says.

Behind closed doors, the NYC's *America II* team have researched the latest in keels, hulls, sails and high-tech electronics to build three yachts. Almost next door on the docks, Bond has launched *Australia III* and *Australia IV*, both the creations of Ben Lexcen, the brilliant designer of the boat that brought the Cup to Australia for the first time.

Bond, who will race against three other local syndicates to decide the defending boat for the final series in February next year, has taken no chances in his \$10m. quest to retain



Three fiberglass yachts from New Zealand also in the hunt for America's Cup glory.

(Reuters telephoto)

the Cup. Bond's compound has a network of heat and movement sensors to detect intruders and set off a terrifying array of flashing lights and loud alarms. The complex is also guarded around the clock. The Bond syndicate director Warren Jones said they did not want a repeat of an incident in Newport in 1983 when a Canadian diver tried to photograph *Australia II*'s keel.

Just as secretive about his yacht is the man both Bond and the NYC fear most—Dennis Conner, skipper of *Liberty*, who is now spearheading the San Diego Yacht Club challenge.

Conner arrived here only in mid-August with two yachts, both called *Stars and Stripes*, after training with five boats off Hawaii for more than a year.

His Sail America syndicate were quick with a warning to any possible spies. "We are going to ask that people consider our work and try to

keep a safe distance. We'd hate to have someone get hurt if they were a little too close to the action," project manager Sandy Purdon observes darkly.

While the big names have covered up their keels, some of the smaller syndicates attack the security and what they see as a lack of sportsmanship. "I think Bond did the right thing in 1983. It was a good psych but now it is no longer necessary, everybody has got a winged keel," says Johann Valentijn, designer of *Liberty* for Conner. "They are spending all this money on security and stopping people from walking around Fremantle to have a look at the boats. It just doesn't seem fair," he declared.

Valentijn, who has designed the yacht *Eagle* for Newport Harbor Yacht Club's challenge, does not believe the current Cup challenge will see a radical new boat like

*Australia II*. "The New York Yacht Club has got to be the strongest contender. Everyone else is just a gamble," according to Valentijn.

Yachting experts believe that the syndicates with the best chances of winning the challenge series are those who have built two, three or four boats. Conner used five. Three years on from Newport the boat with an improved design, coordinated crew and lots of equipment can make it through three round-robin series to the challenge final in January.

Equipment will be more important than ever given the heavier conditions off Fremantle with winds likely to blow more than 20 knots on some days. "Everybody thinks they have a revolutionary boat, a radical keel. But the boat which will win will be the one that combines everything—keel, hull, sails and the crew."

Marc Fajot, skipper of one of the two French challengers, *French Kiss*, concludes wisely

## Moscow agonizes over Soviet slide from the top

By TIMOTHY HERITAGE

MOSCOW (Reuters). — Despite levels of success which would delight most nations, sports experts in the Soviet Union are calling for radical measures to halt a decline in events where the country once reigned supreme.

Soviet teams still dominate sports such as gymnastics and ice hockey, and its track-and-field athletes won 36 medals, including 11 golds, at the European Championships in Stuttgart in August.

But Soviet sportsmen have high standards to live up to after decades of international success and recent press articles have slammed a number of sports, particularly team events, which have failed to live up to expectations.

The women's basketball team came under fire for losing at the goodwill Games and the World Championships to the U.S. this summer, its first tournament defeats for 28 years.

Three of the men's long-distance running teams were disbanded after the European Championships and stinging attacks have been launched on the handball, boxing, weightlifting, water polo, swimming, skating and rowing teams.

The criticism comes less than six months after the State Sports Committee was upgraded to the equivalent

of ministerial status, apparently as a result of efforts to raise standards ahead of the 1988 Olympic Games in Seoul.

"Things are happening in sport which call for radical measures. Somehow without a murmur we are losing our positions on the international arena," one veteran sports writer, Alexander Kiknadze, said.

"The country is moving forward, but sport is standing still," he wrote in the newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda*.

Kiknadze said part of the problem was a lack of top-class Soviet goods which matched the quality of equipment abroad, citing tennis balls and rackets, sports rifles, running spikes, skating, high jump and ski-jump equipment.

"How has it happened that the most important scientific discoveries and developments which help achieve better sports results come from anywhere except our country?" he asked.

"The shot-put is apparently the only area where we do not buy from abroad."

Several critics have written despairingly about the annual national Spartakiad Games, which used to pack the grandstands but last month attracted small crowds and produced appreciably poorer results than in previous years.

Officials decided performances in the men's 10,000 metres were so bad that no medals were awarded to the winners.

"We must find new, modern ways of attracting people to sport. The Spartakiad could be a powerful stimulus," one article suggested.

Others criticise the sports ministry for limiting many events at the Spartakiad to competitors aged 23 and under.

They say the ministry showed a lack of *glasnost* (openness), as called for by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, in failing to consult competitors and officials over the move.

The general conclusion of many experts is that the only way to halt the fall in standards is to restructure training methods.

Many of the most talented athletes are drafted at a young age into sports schools and colleges where they receive special training in their field.

But sports writers are now asking why the Soviet Union failed to pick up a single medal in the men's middle-distance events in Stuttgart when about 150,000 of its athletes had received special training in the events at such schools.

"It became absolutely clear (in Stuttgart) that our middle-distance runners once again turned out to be just statistics on the European arena," the sports newspaper *Sovetsky*

*Sport* said.

The dismal results in Stuttgart culminated in the disbanding of the men's national teams in the 5,000 and 10,000 metres, the 3,000 steeplechase and the marathon.

"We must find a totally new approach to how we prepare our runners," said Alexander Polunin, a senior national coach.

"There is a clear difference in the class of our runner and foreign runners."

Polunin said the times recorded by Viktor Kalinkin and Igor Lotoryev, well below their capabilities—suggested they were afraid of established foreign athletes such as Britons Sebastian Coe and Steve Cram.

Polunin said Soviet middle-distance runner lacked the class, tactical awareness, and psychological and physical preparation of foreign middle-distance runners.

He said the problem did not seem to be a lack of talent but a lack of preparation, and suggested a whole restructuring of coaching methods, including creating a special training centre to prepare for the Olympics.

Sovetsky sport concluded: "How can we find a way out of this long drawn-out crisis? Only by searching for completely new athletes who are track."

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ECONOMICS

# Economic crisis: pressures mount to change system

What the future holds - 7  
By Pinhas Landau

AN OBT-POSED question about the Israeli economy is how it is that the Jews, who have excelled for hundreds of years at every type of economic endeavor in countries all round the world, have come a cropper in their own country?

The answer probably involves sociology, political science and many other disciplines. But, one should bear in mind that the success of the Israeli economy in the generation following independence stands in sharp contrast to its subsequent decline. Therefore the purely ideological answer that the socio-economic system underpinning the building up of the country was fundamentally flawed, will not hold water.

It is arguable whether there was an alternative, in the chaos of the 1950s, to a centralized and government-directed economy. If there was, it would have been hard-put to match the achievements chalked up in that period.

However, when the time came to change, in the early 1970s, that system did not prove able to meet the challenge. Instead of opening up the economy to internal and external forces that would have driven it to adjust, the centralized system - by now more statist than socialist - sought to shield it from the need to face the harsh reality of the 1970s.

The attempts to finance both the massive defense build-up and the expanding welfare and social service networks, that began in 1967 and continued after 1973, killed growth and bled the economy of its dynamism. The reckless spree of the Aridor years in 1981-83 provided the coup de grace and led to the collapse of the old verities. The question now is what is to take their place.

A NUMBER of alternative approaches exist which might, in theory, have been able to compete through political parties - for the right to determine policy in the years to come. In practice, however, this series has argued that the degree of freedom available to any Israeli government is very limited, and the strategic direction of economic policy has already been determined by external forces beyond the power of this country. What remains to be noted is the order in which things are to be done, the relative emphases and the speed of implementation, as well as the technical details of each measure. This situation has arisen because of three sets of factors, each of which is probably sufficient in itself to determine the issues, and which together are proving irresistible.

The first is that the Jewish people has shown an overwhelming preference for free and open economies, rather than closed ones. Both the Diaspora and the Israeli sectors have effectively voted with their feet. Western Jews by staying firmly put and not moving to the Jewish homeland except for a negligible few, Russian Jews by indicating a growing preference for the U.S. over Israel, and Israelis themselves by increasingly orientating themselves psychologically, socially and physically toward the West.

A superficial examination of the causes of this "voting" pattern, in the absence of thorough scientific data, suggests that socio-economic rather than political-military factors lie behind these trends. Milton Friedman has been quoted as saying that "the Jews have, for 2,000 years, excelled in avoiding and circumventing government regulations, and for 100 years have been at the forefront of the movement for democratic socialism - but it is likely that the older tradition will win out."

Then there are the Americans themselves. Without going into the whys and wherefores, it can be stated that the Israeli economy is kept afloat by the U.S. government. We are beholden beyond the actual amount we owe Uncle Sam, and the events of 1985/86 have proven beyond a shadow of doubt that Washington's influence in internal Israeli policy-making is considerable - many would say paramount. It may well be that the Americans never consciously sought to make us a "vassal" state, but that water under the bridge now. From their own point of view, they must endeavor to make us as economically viable as possible, and they intend to do that by imposing on this country what they think is good for us. Fortunately, and for the reasons just mentioned, a growing number of Israelis agree with them, so there is no real element of coercion.

Finally, perhaps the least understood but most potent of the forces at work is the "globalization" of the world economy. The era of traditional national economies, when sovereign states could pursue their own policies regardless of what was happening elsewhere, is finished, even for great powers such as the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Small countries such as Israel have only one basic choice - to be part of the world economy, or to shut themselves out. It follows that all the foregoing that Israelis have taken kindly to their country, during a second

Albania. Nor do they have any real option in that direction. But if they are to be part of the world economy, they will have to accept the fact that they are very small players with no ability to write rules for themselves.

THE ECONOMIC upheaval that began in this country in 1983, and that seems set to continue for at least several more years, is basically about people, firms and the economy as a whole belatedly adjusting to these local, bilateral and world realities. Many people will never adjust, because their job skills are now obsolete and they are too old to effectively retrain.

Many companies were run into the ground by incompetent and venal managements, and they have gone or will go bust, or will be bought out or merged and made more successful. Whole industries will shrivel up and, in some cases disappear completely or change completely.

These are not bold predictions or wild guesses, but merely the transplantation of what has happened elsewhere to the more lagged local environment. By the same token, it is possible to focus on the positive opportunities provided by the Third Industrial Revolution, as some scholars refer to the current wave of change.

The whole thrust of the world economy is toward more sophisticated industries and services, to a structure in which innovativeness and education will be much surer paths to personal and national wealth than control of raw materials, or simple mass production.

These factors should be entirely positive for Israel because they represent the comparative advantage that this country has over its neighbors and that Jews have traditionally held. All the talk of "emerging brain industries" indicates that they are almost tailor made for Israel - if it gears itself to them. These industries ought, therefore, to be welcomed, and every effort made to hasten their arrival and their rapid absorption. Unfortunately, however, the opposite has occurred over the last 10-15 years.

The apparent causes for this delay are political short-sightedness, sometimes also referred to as lack of leadership, the entrenched power of entities whose primary interest is the maintenance of the status quo for their own benefit, and the innate conservatism and resistance to change of the Israeli public as a whole.

THE REASON that there is more cause for optimism today than at any time since the Yom Kippur War is the coincidence of a much more favorable external environment (the decline of Opec, Russia turning inward, an unprecedentedly pro-Israel administration in the U.S.) together with the crumbling of many of the barriers to progress at home. But the two factors proving more crucial than any others are the realization by many former opponents of reform that the longer it is delayed, the weaker the economy will become, and the growing hemorrhage of yehida. That no one wants to come might not bother them so much, but when their children, or their friends, pack up and leave - if only "for a year or two" at first - the message is brought home.

The prospect, therefore, is for a period of rapid change. It is perfectly possible that this general process will be accompanied by periodic shocks and crises of various sorts - give a simple example - if the September price index to be published on October 15 comes in at 3 per cent instead of 1.5 per cent as predicted, there will be the most almighty hullabaloo. The layers of complacency that have been building up for the last six months will melt away as if by magic.

If that doesn't happen, it might be a political drama that throws things out of joint. In Israel, the chances of something unexpected happening are always greater than of quiet reigning. But the underlying trend will remain in place.

A more serious threat is that so much time has been wasted this decade, and so much damage done by sticking to the wrong policies, that we have already missed the bus. Since no one knows if that is the case, we have no choice but to press ahead anyway and hope that we'll be able to make up for lost time. In fact, we have no choice about which direction to go, and the way everybody else is going in any case suits us best. If we follow that path to growth, we will be in what might best be described as a no-choice boom.

The key point to realize about Israel this Rosh Hashana eve is that economic success, leading to renewed ally, a reduction of internal discord, a possible easing of Israeli-Arab animosities and a certain lightening of the defense burden, is within our grasp. In the 1970s, albeit under much more difficult circumstances, the chance was missed. There is no guarantee that the current opportunity will recur, so we had better make sure we seize it this time.

THE SEVENTIES were a turbulent decade for most of the world's non-oil-producing economies. Those years saw the emergence of stagflation, that strange combination of rising inflation, low economic growth and increasing unemployment. These developments were clearly linked to two crises over energy prices. In 1973, after several years of dropping oil prices, the world was forced to cope with a sudden surge in its cost. In 1979, just as some countries had adjusted themselves to this development, they were hit by a second oil price shock as a result of the outbreak of the Iraq-Iran war.

Israel was among those countries which until that date had not found a way out of the crises of the Seventies. From 1973, when it was hit by the Yom Kippur War and the first energy crisis, until today, no viable solution to the problems created in the Seventies has been found.

The third part of *The Israeli Economy*, a recently-published collection of essays on economic develop-

**No viable solution to the problems created in the Seventies has been found.**

ments in this country during the Seventies, described the methods by which our governments and finance ministers tried to cope with the balance of payments pressures created by the price shocks and a rising defense burden. The efforts are documented in articles by Nadav Halevi, Haim Barkai and Michael Bruno.

The picture that emerges from these essays is of an economy which at the beginning of the decade faced no major balance-of-payments problems and enjoyed an import surplus of about \$1 billion, comfortably financed through grants and long-term loans from foreign governments and world Jewry. Suddenly this economy was confronted with a major balance-of-payments crisis, forcing the government to undertake painful economic measures in order to forestall an acute shortage of foreign currency.

Barkai points out that the share of crude oil in total imports rose from 2 per cent at the beginning of the decade to 14 per cent at the end of it. To understand the anguish with which the then finance minister, Pinhas Sapir, must have followed the development of the first energy crisis, it must be remembered the ratio of energy consumption to GNP rapidly rose almost fivefold, from 1 per cent on the eve of the crisis to 4.55 per cent a few months later. The same is true in the case of Yigael Hurwitz, who was finance minister in 1979, during the second oil price shock.

Barkai estimates that taking 1972 prices as the basis of comparison, the cost to the economy of the increase in oil prices by 1980 was about 7 per cent of the GNP. This is especially relevant today, when oil prices are going back, in real terms, to the levels existing before October 1973.

The picture of 1985 as a "reversal" of the 1973 picture is apposite in more than one way. The earlier year registered a rise in the prices not only of crude oil but of other commodities too; a significant climb in the international rate of inflation; and an increase in interest rates. According to Halevi, the net loss to the economy as a result of these developments totalled about \$800 million, or 15 per cent of total imports, in 1973 and \$650m., or 10 per cent of imports, in 1974.

As in almost every other industrialized country, the energy-price shock led to a marked decline in the pace of Israel's economic growth.

But unlike other countries, no major increase in unemployment took place here. As Bruno points out the slackening in the growth of the business sector was not translated into higher unemployment, since the public sector started absorbing an increasing portion of the labour force. Bruno estimates that if the public sector had not absorbed workers as it did, unemployment would have risen as high as 11 per cent.

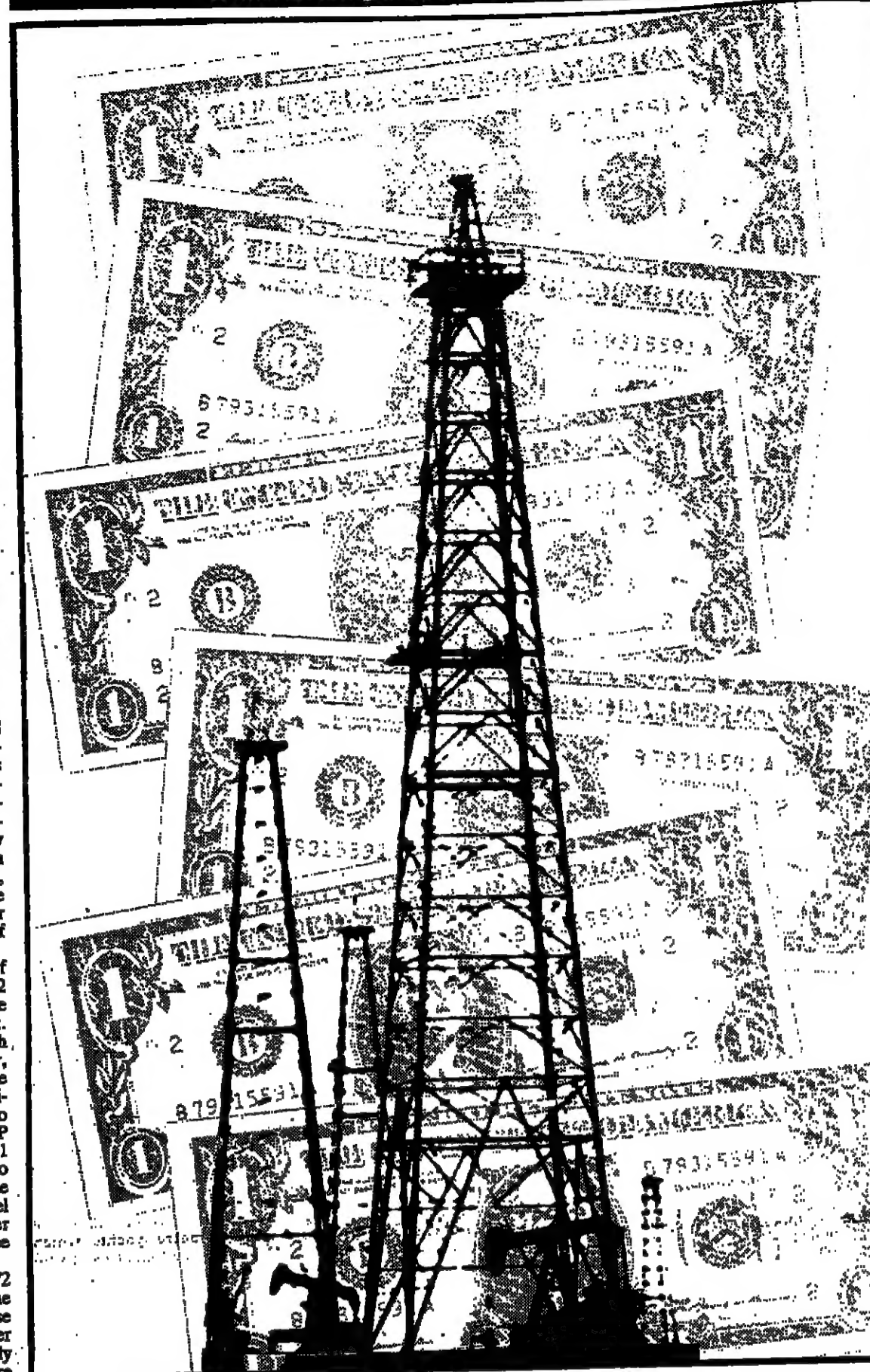
TRADITIONALLY, balance of payments crises in Israel have led to a definite pattern of government reactions. First, there is an attempt to bring about a drop in imports by reducing domestic demand through the use of restrictive monetary and fiscal policies. At the same time an effort is made to increase exports by means of a devaluation. After a while, as the balance of payments pressures are eased, a different policy mix is evolved, largely designed to avoid the difficult political consequences of sustained austerity. Thus, it is possible to describe economic developments as a zigzag between austerity and expansion, a process that Bruno describes in his article. Because of going into a detailed analysis of the causes and consequences of such changes, one must ask what made them possible. The balance of payments figures show that periodic remissions of austerity, and the avoidance of unemployment were made possible in no small measure by the increasing aid from the U.S.

Until 1972 there were almost no U.S. grants to Israel, but only some long-term loans from specialized agencies. Since 1973, however, U.S. aid in the form of loans and grants has become the major source of financing of the balance of payments deficits, averaging almost \$1.9b. annually in 1973-82. It was this that permitted the economy to run up annual deficits of at least \$3b. in those years, compared with some \$1.2b. in the years preceding the 1973 crisis.

# The years of lost opportunity

## Failing to cope with oil-price explosion doomed Israel to economic 'stagflation'

Understanding the past - 3 By Avi Temkin



At the same time, one must remember that a large part of the sums received from the Americans was not grants but loans, for which Israel is still paying and will continue to pay for many years to come. In 1972, Israel's long-term debts, most of them owed by the government, totalled some \$3.7b. Ten years later, those obligations had risen to some \$14.5b.

It was this increase in foreign aid and foreign debts that enabled Israeli governments to avoid unemployment throughout the Seventies. In a way this was sacrificing the future for the sake of the present, although it must be stressed that it could also be interpreted as a rational effort on the part of the governments to bridge difficult and more relaxed times, with the help of American financing.

IT IS within this framework that the changes in economic policy should be approached. Thus, after a first attempt by the government to respond to the 1973 crisis by means of devaluation and wage restraint, a more comprehensive austerity plan was put into operation, based on fiscal and monetary restraint, creeping devaluations of the currency, and an attempt to reshape the basic structure of the economy. That policy was abandoned by the late Simcha Ehrlich after the liberalization of October 1977 and was replaced by a policy of monetary expansion and fiscal relaxation.

Austerity returned in 1979 and 1980, as Yigael Hurwitz tried to fight balance of payments deficits. As election day approached, however, austerity became less palatable for the Likud leaders, who soon brought Yoram Aridor to the Treasury. Those were the days of "proper economics," when an attempt was made to curb inflation through a slow-down in the rate of devaluation.

From Bruno's account, it is clear that he sees the 1975-77 period, when the late Yehoshua Rabinowitz was finance minister, as the last opportunity of the Israeli economy. From his description, two factors emerge as the villains of the Seventies. One is the oil-price shocks in 1973 and 1979; the second is the scrapping of Rabinowitz's policies by Ehrlich and his Likud colleagues in 1977.

Thus Bruno clearly makes 1977 the watershed of economic policy. Until that date, for example, inflation was somewhat not as bad as in the post-1977 period. Moreover, at one point Bruno says that inflation in the pre-1977 days was "functional." It accompanied the efforts to make Israeli exports more competitive, while the inflation of the Likud period was nothing but a "bubble."

pressures in the balance of payments. In the long run, it is recognized, what is necessary is changes in the structure of employment and output, bringing more people to work in the business sector, especially the part of it producing exportable goods and services.

Structural changes have taken place in recent years, despite the stagnating overall product. Halevi points out that during the past decade Israeli exports have become more sophisticated, more skill-intensive. This is possibly related to two factors: the availability of an educated labour force; and a process of "learning by doing," which has boosted Israeli sophisticated exports.

Nevertheless, it must be recognized that structural change was not as fast and as extensive as required. What must be asked, however, is if this happened despite the fact that austerity and loss of output were imposed, or because they were in force during a large part of this period. In other words, one must ask

**Israel was sacrificing the future for the sake of the present.**

whether there was any justification for the government's attempts to suppress demands in the economy.

Bruno quotes several studies showing that about 24 per cent of the drop in productivity could be explained by the drop in demand during the Seventies. Moreover, the "learning by doing" process referred to above would have been much more effective if it had applied to a wider range of products made available through faster economic growth.

These two arguments seem to imply that a different strategy should have been applied. Surely it would have been possible to bring about both faster economic growth and economic structural change by sticking to a policy that would have not made "suppress demand" a rallying cry to the nation.

In a way, Israel has had the worst of both worlds. The government's policies did bring about a slackening in production as well as a drop in imports. At the same time it did not dare to encourage unemployment, and this made it necessary to absorb a large part of the work force in the public sector. This, as has been said, was done through constant changes in economic policies, a sort of "stop-go" zigzag.

Thus, the typical pattern was austerity measures bringing about a drop in domestic demand, leading to a drop in output and employment in the business sector. In the second stage the government regarded an increase in unemployment inadmissible, as well as politically risky, and made efforts to expand employment. Since it was already the biggest employer in the country, the government knew that the quickest and most reliable method of reducing the number of jobless was to increase the numbers working in the public sector.

While recognizing that the political and social realities in Israel preclude any steps that would lead to unemployment, one must ask whether the picture just drawn was necessary. One would suggest that a much more rational course would have been to use American financing to sustain a controlled, but significant, encouragement of industry.

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Success linked to government cutting deficit

# The problem of reviving growth lies ahead

Professor Herbert Stein of the American Enterprise Institute has served as a senior consultant on the Israeli economy to Secretary of State George Shultz during the past several years. He was interviewed in Washington by Shlomo Maoz, economic editor of *The Jerusalem Post*.

Q: ISRAEL still has a 20 per cent annual rate of inflation and a high rate of interest in real terms. Tax reform has been postponed. Are we really on the way to economic growth?

A: I think that the future is uncertain. The problem of reviving growth still lies ahead. But my impression is that it is very well understood by the Israeli authorities, and that they have planned steps that everybody thinks are necessary for the revival of growth. I don't think that there is any disagreement about what needs to be done. I think we see evidence of strong determination. Everybody knows what has to be done is difficult, and will require lots of support across the board, from politicians and the public. Whether that will be forthcoming we don't know. But I think that the record in the last year and a half has been impressive and encouraging.

Q: Are you afraid that because politicians usually do not take a long-term view, they will be satisfied with what has already been achieved?

A: Well, that is the danger. But I don't see that in the people whom I deal with, who have been here and talked with us. They give us every indication that they are aware of the need to press on and not to relax, not to consider that the game has been won.

Q: There is a debate between the governor of the Bank of Israel, Prof. Michael Bruno, and various Finance Ministry officials and politicians. Bruno wants to reduce inflation to 5 or 6 per cent a year. The others are satisfied with the current 20 per cent level of inflation. What is your attitude?

A: Well, it would have been desirable to get down lower, but there is a question of the speed at which you do it. I'm not going to be involved in the conflict between Mr. Bruno and the Finance Ministry.

Q: Can we expect growth when we have such a high rate of inflation that may discourage potential investors?

A: I think that if the government keeps its deficit down - it can get it down further and I think they are aware of the need to keep it down -

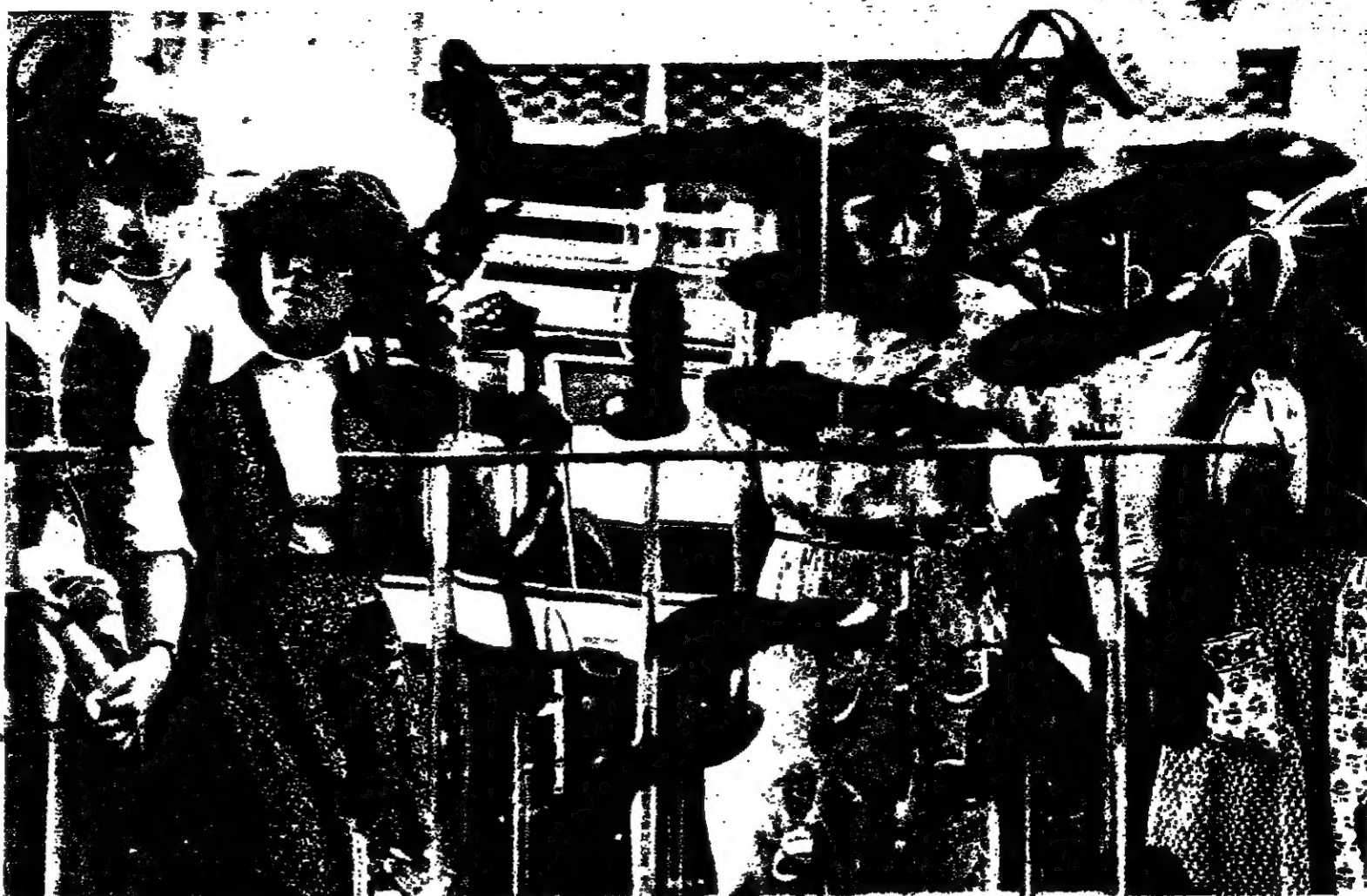
and even to cut government expenditure further - then more resources will be available for private investment and the interest rate will come down. I think that part of the problem is that investment in Israel does not go to the most efficient places. And I understand that the finance minister is very interested in reform in the capital market to allow market forces to determine where the investment goes. That could be a big improvement. Also, insofar as he can free capital through tax reform, that would increase the incentive to invest. Possibly, all of this, together with some change in the regulatory climate, will induce more investment in Israel. I think that Israel has been a high saving country. The problem has been that too much of the savings has been absorbed in financing the budget deficit and what was left over was subject to too much control by government subsidies, regulation and preferences so that it was not used efficiently.

Q: Should the government trim its budget beyond the latest \$300 million cut?

A: For the next fiscal year, my understanding is that the people who are studying the thing would like to name further cuts. Some things are likely to rise - like social security payments - and cuts will have to be made at least to offset those built-in increases. Beyond that, if there is going to be tax reform on a large scale - some tax reform can occur, I suppose, without revenue loss - then there should be some arrangement to get rid of some exemptions. But to go much further a reduction in the total level of expenditures relative to GNP will be needed and that is going to be difficult.

Q: Finance Minister Moshe Nisim is thinking of postponing tax reform. What do you think of that, especially in connection with the basic question involving the chicken and the egg. Should tax reform or growth come first?

A: I've sometimes said that Israel may be the only country in the world that is on the wrong side of the Laffer Curve because you start with such high tax rates. But I don't think it would be good to bet that you can make a big tax cut and that the



Israel needs more investment and not more consumer goods.

revenues will automatically respond. Maybe not in the short run. This is true for the short run as to the long run. So I think that some caution is needed there. You need to make very conservative estimates to see what you are going to get back as revenue from a tax cut. But I think that the first thing that needs to be studied is how far it is possible to go with a revenue-neutral tax reform. How far it is possible to go with reducing the privileges, exceptions and relief in the Israeli tax system. We found that we could go some way with that in U.S. tax law. And I expect that the Israelis could go some way with it. I just don't know how far.

Q: Do you think that the government has the power to reduce tax benefits of spoiled groups like exporters?

A: That's a political problem. Some people here thought that we would not be able to get tax reform because of the resistance of special

interest groups who get privileges. But I think that holding out the possibility of a considerable rate reduction attracted so much support that it allowed the government to get rid of some of the special treatment. That may also be the case in Israel. I think that everything depends on whether the Israeli people are serious about wanting to solve their economic problems because if they don't take it seriously, they won't support the kind of actions that are necessary.

Q: How do you view the latest boom in purchasing imported durable goods in Israel?

A: Israel needs more investment and not more consumer durables. But how you bring that about - I really don't know.

Q: Do you think that we have sufficient foreign exchange reserves to ensure stability and avoid a run on the dollar by Israelis?

A: I think that the situation has

improved. Some of the U.S. emergency aid was used to reduce foreign indebtedness. I am not aware that there were any particular problems. I think that the government will have to be cautious not to permit the revival of inflation which would begin refueling fears that the reserves are dwindling and that the shekel would be depreciated again. Then, you would get a run because Israelis, on the basis of their experience, are very sensitive to both inflation and devaluation. That is a reason for saying that the battle is not over, that you have to continue to show determination to stay on the stabilization path. And I hope everybody involved will keep that in mind.

Q: Do you think we now have sufficient reserves to preserve the exchange rate level?

A: There aren't enough reserves if they are allowed to run out. There are enough to support inevitable fluctuations in a balance of payments, but there are not enough to permit a

big spurge of expansion and inflation in Israel. That's true for almost every country except the U.S.

Q: How do you see our position in international financial markets?

A: The fact of U.S. support for Israel must influence the way everybody thinks about Israel. It's just a fact of life. But we don't want Israel to be in a position of dependency. And Israel doesn't want to be a permanent dependent of the U.S.

Q: But, in fact, don't we totally depend on the U.S.?

A: We have mutual interests. The U.S. has an interest in Israel, as Israel has an interest in the U.S. But I think we have always thought that Israel should reach a position where it does not require so much aid from the U.S.

Q: When could that be?

A: We are taking a step. Supplementary aid will not be repeated.

Q: If you were finance minister of Israel what would be your next step?

A: I would work on two things at

the same time. I would work on expenditure reductions and tax reform. Israel has an inescapable defence burden which is exceptionally large.

Q: What do you suggest that we do about that?

A: I'm not suggesting anything except to be cautious about taking on other burdens. I think the problem is to create a situation in Israel where it is attractive for Israelis and foreigners to invest there, and where it is attractive for Israelis to stay there and to work. And if you put too heavy burdens on mobile people who are capable of working somewhere else, and too heavy burdens on capital which can easily go out or not come then the system will break down.

Q: And that is exactly one of the government's arguments in defending the Lavi project?

A: I'm not going to talk about the Lavi. But if you say to these highly skilled people that they have to pay a 60 per cent income tax rate while in California the rate is only 28 per cent, and that they have to pay 60 per cent rate not only to support the defence programme but also to support elaborate health and welfare systems and unemployment payments, then people will have the incentive to leave.

Q: Did you think that the economic plan would be so successful?

A: We hoped that the programme would be that successful. We thought that a traumatic, one-shot programme would allow a lot of progress. We are pleased that the programme was adopted and that it worked out.

Q: Do you think the government should reduce the inflation rate and not allow any wage increases?

A: I think they should try to get inflation down to a level more like international levels, not by imposing government restrictions on wages but by creating conditions in which market forces do not encourage great increases. One of the problems in Israel is that you get increases through bargaining by industries and firms above the nationally negotiated level and that this reflects the state of the labour market. In addition, everybody's expectations about inflation tend to be circular. So I think you have to get general conditions where wages will not rise so rapidly. I'm not for wage control. Indexation and linkage are two different things. After all, indexation is not complete and not instantaneous. Therefore, it seems to me that with this kind of indexation you could have a low rate of inflation. The problem is the increases beyond indexation, which then tends to spread from one sector to everybody else.

## Private sector suffers through worst year in 1985

Capital market situation goes from disastrous to catastrophic

Pinhas Landau / Jerusalem Post Reporter

THE BANK of Israel is an institution with very clear-cut strong points and weak points. One of its strongest points is that it collects masses of data about the economy, so that one can find out a great deal by reading its publications. In fact, there is almost nothing quantifiable and pertaining to the economy that cannot be unearthed in one or other of the research papers, reports and studies that emerge from the central bank - but on one condition. That is that the information you seek is at least six months old. Anything more recent is usually not available, and projections are impossible to get. The capital market is one of the sectors that gets its own special publication from the

Bank of Israel, from the monetary department to be exact.

Recently, the review for the calendar year 1985 appeared, carrying a deadline of September 1986, openly and without shame. Despite its belated appearance, this booklet contains much of interest, and not only to archeologists. It would be no exaggeration to say that the easiest way to answer the questions why is there a need for capital market reform, or what is the extent of government domination of the capital market, would be to start with the material provided there.

The first chapter presents an outline of the main developments in the capital market through the end of

1985 and wastes no time in highlighting the key trends. The government succeeded in recycling almost all its maturing debts during the year, although the rate of saving in the economy slumped. Who suffered? The private sector, of course, which was squeezed right out of the bond market and could raise no money in the share market either, since that was still recovering from the earthquakes of 1983. The bare facts are these. The government sold bonds and took in forced deposits through the Treasury totalling NIS4.9 billion (all figures in December 1985 prices, i.e. NIS 1.5-\$1), which was only NIS 101 million less than its total repayments of principal and interest, although the latter included over NIS 1 billion to pensioners for their bank shares. This recycling rate of 98 per cent was considered a great achievement in the light of the amounts that needed to be redeemed and the fact that savings generally fell as the public drew on them to maintain its living standards

in the face of falling real wages.

Nevertheless, it was the worst result chalked up this decade. In 1980-82 the government absorbed billions of shekels annually, over and above its maturities, to finance its spending programmes. Even in 1983 and 1984 the rate of recycling was just above, rather than just below, the 100 per cent mark, although the absolute level of debts maturing was lower in those years.

THE PRIVATE sector had probably its worst year ever in 1985. It redeemed bonds worth NIS 734 million more than it sold, and after taking in NIS 49m. through share issues - mostly rights issues and private placements - it was left with NIS 635m more paid out than taken in through the capital market. This last figure compares with an equivalent NIS 316m net outflow in 1984 and NIS 179m. In 1983. That is what is known as a situation deteriorating from the merely disastrous to the totally catastrophic.

The Bank of Israel report notes that the elimination of the private sector from the bond market, which was done by the Treasury refusing anybody permits to raise money and thereby compete with itself (that answers the question about the extent of government domination), had the positive effect of reducing the cost of borrowing for the government. Its monopoly position as a borrower made life easier for it in the medium- and long-term markets. However, this left the private sector with no choice but to seek working capital from short-term bank credit;

and this made the already tight monetary policy much more restrictive than it would anyway have been, so that interest rates for overdrafts became murderously expensive, literally killing many companies.

The report itself describes this process in especially obtuse jargon; but the message it is seeking to convey is that the criticism heaped on the monetary department of the central bank for its interest rate policy last year is at least exaggerated, if not misplaced, since it was the Treasury policy of not allowing competition at the long end of the markets that created congestion at the short end and exacerbated the credit squeeze.

More important than this interdepartmental squabble, which is now of purely historical interest, is the very clear picture which emerges of the background to the first moves to loosen the capital market early this year, which have broadened out since then and are scheduled to become a full-fledged reform in the

coming months. While the Americans talk of "crowding out," meaning a process wherein large-scale government borrowing takes the lion's share of new bond issues to the detriment of the private sector, in Israel we have for years been living with "crowding out" that has far exceeded 100 per cent, because the government is the only borrower in the market and does not even let the others take enough to meet their maturing liabilities. Since the private sector is not allowed to borrow long-term funds, even if it is prepared to pay higher yields than the government to get its money, it can come as no surprise that investment has been negative these last three years. Even before the tax situation worsened for corporations, they had no possibility of investing, while since the new corporate tax law was passed in August 1985, they have also had no incentive to invest.

The implicit recommendation made throughout the factual review in the report is that the government

should rapidly seek to open up the capital market to private borrowers and let them compete with it for investors' funds. Although this would probably force up yields in the bond market, it would allow interest rates to drop in the money market and would therefore help to iron out the reverse yield curve that currently exists - meaning short-term borrowing is more expensive than long-term, the opposite of the normal state of affairs.

If the markets were freed to fix interest rates on the basis of the supply and demand for funds and without artificial control by the Treasury, the overall cost of borrowing to the economy - although not necessarily to the government - would be lower, and savings would be efficiently channelled to those who needed them most, which is to say those prepared to pay the highest return to get them. And that, at the end of the day, is what the whole fuss known as "capital market reform" is all about.



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## MARKET PLACE

PINHAS LANDAU

## Taking stock

The last trading day of 5746 on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange provided no fireworks, making it a true reflection of the outgoing year. Although the share market as a whole had a good year — and some sectors had a very good year — it can hardly be thought of as a dramatic one. It would be nice to think that the market has spent time recovering from its past trauma and laying a base for future growth.

Certainly this would be a fair description of the behind-the-scenes action on issues such as regulation, the system of trading and other important areas where much ground-work has been done and where the coming year should, barring unforeseen developments, see important changes. Whether the actual trading levels and performance of the various investment vehicles will also demonstrate progress over this year is quite another matter. It will depend primarily on the government policy, particularly with regard to the capital market.

We remain firm in our belief that the key area to look at is the bond market, rather than the share market. Unless interest rates go down, unless private borrowers can use the exchange as a method of raising capital and unless the public shows greater confidence in the government's ability to repay its bank-share obligation — of which the next round is due next October — then there can be no boom in the bond market. If the bond market cannot attract investors, then by extension the share market cannot function seriously, and must remain a speculative by-way.

The events of recent months, in terms of opening up the bond market, putting a floor under the bank shares and the series of small share issues made in various sectors, all raise hopes that things are moving in the right direction.

Assuming that things go well, though, where will the "action" be? Since the eve of a new year is traditionally a time for forecasts and estimates, most of which turn out to be wildly inaccurate, we have no hesitation in making a few guesses for which we will take no responsibility whatsoever.

In general, it seems reasonable to suggest that this year's hits and duds may well change places next year. This is a basic phenomenon in all markets and this year's Tel Aviv is usually more rapid than in most places. Therefore, we suggest that dollar-linked investments will make at least a relative recovery, not because there must be a devaluation, nor even because the dollar must prove against other currencies, but simply because they are grossly oversold. Yields are high in all dollar-linked bonds, and in the bank shares ludicrously so, for reasons that this column has often discussed. But they stand to fall in almost any scenario.

If local stability is threatened, if stability improves and inflation rates fall further, these bonds will be worth buying on purely nominal grounds, irrespective of their linkage conditions. For example, bank shares with yields above 15 per cent will be a fine buy if inflation is at 5 or 10 per cent. Thus, unless there is no change whatsoever in the economic variables, dollar-linked bonds should do well, and they should certainly not be the worst-performing sectors, as they have been since July 1985.

As for the share market, we anticipate that this year's duds will have shot their bolt. The benefits they will reap from currency realignments. Now the companies will have to work very hard to make further gains in an increasingly protectionist international environment. Real estate, by contrast, could recover further from its slump, especially if mortgages become more freely available. But the sector could also be hit again by a government move to curtail the spending boom, as is now being mooted.

At the other extreme, the electronics sector is set to recover. Those who were deemed have fallen, and the others have chopped and flashed their way towards renewed viability. Given a recovery on the world market, there could well be a sharp turnaround here.

Finally, the Treasury bill market will offer 18-19 per cent annual interest rates on investments of up to 84 days. This market will expand if inflation stays low, and may be recommended as a sensible alternative to bank deposits for larger sums of money.

Good luck, and a Happy New Year.

## Bruno says at IMF parley

## 'Social consensus' is key to stability

WASHINGTON (AP). — Bank of Israel Governor Michael Bruno Wednesday attributed the success of the economic stabilization programme to what he termed "social consensus."

Speaking at the annual joint meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, which ended yesterday, Bruno said the lesson to be learned from the success of the programme was that countries embarking on economic reform need outside financial help.

He said this aid would have to come from the industrialized countries, the World Bank and the IMF. Israel, itself, was helped with some \$1.5 billion in emergency U.S. assistance during the first part of the stabilization programme.

Bruno said social consensus had been needed in implementing the

programme to avoid what he called "the pitfalls of undesirable distributional consequences," in which the poorest sections of the population grow poorer and the wealthier more rich.

"There is hardly any other way of attaining rapid and yet sustained stabilization in a democratic society," he concluded.

Bruno noted that the programme had enabled the shekel exchange rate to remain stable in the past several months and brought inflation down to 1.5 per cent a month from 15 per cent. He said the exchange rate would remain frozen so long as wages remained stable, which requires the cooperation of the labour unions.

The balance of payments, which was in surplus last year, would "probably also (be) in 1986."

## BUSINESS BRIEFS

## Manulife-Menorah head resigns in policy dispute

A disagreement over strategy at Manulife-Menorah Insurance Co. has led to a shake-up of top management, chairman David Hirschfeld said in a statement last week.

Manniel M. Sand, who had acted as general manager since the company was founded nine years ago, resigned, as did a number of other top staff. Sand will continue to serve on the board of directors. Moshe Peleg, co-general manager of Menorah Insurance Co., will take over as acting general manager.

Manulife-Menorah said Sand had clashed with the board over whether to concentrate on sales or profitability. Sand had focused on increasing sales, building a portfolio of \$9 million in "a relatively short time," the company said, but the board felt profitability had not reached an acceptable level.

Manulife-Menorah is jointly owned by Canada-based Manufacturers Life Insurance Co. and Menorah.

**GINEGAR PLASTIC PRODUCTS**, of Kibbutz Ginegar, said it has won a \$500,000 contract to supply plastic sheeting that will line the bottom of an artificial lake in East Africa.

Ginegar said it had outbid companies from the U.S., Eastern and Western Europe and South Africa for the contract. It did not identify the country that let the contract.

"The lake, which will hold 1.25 million cubic metres of water, is intended for collecting salt from the waters by evaporation. This, the plastic will have to be made to a special standard."

Set up 15 years ago, Ginegar's plastic plant produces 40 varieties of plastic and is the largest of its kind in the country.

**ISRAELI DIAMOND EXPORTS** reached a record \$185 million last month, the highest total for September yet recorded, an increase of 57 per cent from 2 years ago.

Diamond exports thus passed the one-billion-dollar mark in the first nine months of the year, reaching \$1.066 billion compared with \$993.9 for the same period last year, according to figures released yesterday by the Israel Diamond Institute.

The nine-month figure was slightly ahead of exports for all of 1985.

The institute attributed the sharp boost in September sales to the fact that Israel's diamond trade is conducted in U.S. dollars. The weakening of the dollar has attracted a heavy influx of buyers from the Far East and Europe, Moshe Schmitz, president of the Israel Diamond Exchange, said.

## Ford makes bid to take over Italy's Alfa Romeo

ROME (AFP). — Ford Motor Co. Wednesday officially presented its offer to acquire the Italian auto firm Alfa Romeo.

Details of the offer, submitted to Finmeccanica, the Italian holding company that is the Alfa Romeo's principal shareholder, were not disclosed. Alfa Romeo is to announce its response by November 7.

Ford-Italy said in a statement that its offer was "eminently sensible from Alfa Romeo's point of view since it recognizes the necessity to continue the independence and integrity of this famous automotive mark."

The Italian motor group Fiat, is expected to make a counter-offer once details of the Ford proposal are known. The Italian government would then choose between the two offers with approval of parliament.

## Tax official denies reports he'll resign

Jerusalem Post Staff  
TEL AVIV. — Yisrael Baron, director of the State Revenue Administration, yesterday denied press reports that he was planning to resign shortly.

Speaking at a Rotary Club luncheon, Baron said he intended to stay on for at least 18 months to oversee implementation of proposed tax reforms.

Baron said Israeli tax officials had carefully studied the U.S. tax-reform legislation signed into law earlier this week by President Reagan. "Except for the reduction in taxes on private income, most of the new American rules bring American tax policy very close to the Israeli practice," he said.

The new law reduces tax rates on personal income but raises corporate taxes.

Baron said he had "no apprehensions" about a tax cut sparking a sharp rise on consumer spending, even though it is likely to come out about the same time as the government is scheduled to redeem bank shares.

Under a scheme devised in the wake of the October 1983 bank shares collapse, the government has promised to pay shareholders the value of their stock prior to the downturn, over the next two years.

"What could the beneficiaries of bank shares do with their money if not invest the bulk of it in industry or new savings schemes?" Baron asked.

## Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

## MARKET STATISTICS

## Indices:

General Share Index	118.69 -0.22%
Non-Bank Index	148.22 +0.34%
Arrangement	104.12 -0.57%
Insurance	167.61 -0.48%
Commerce, Services	181.24 -0.05%
Real Estate	188.19 +0.23%
Industrials	131.54 +0.27%
Textiles	169.01 +0.68%
Metals	137.33 +0.26%
Electronics	85.51 -0.35%
Chemicals	133.47 +0.00%
Industrial Invest.	118.22 +0.22%
Investment Cos.	143.21 +1.27%
General Bond Index	110.34 +0.21%
Index-linked Bonds	108.09 +0.16%
Fully-linked	111.89 +0.17%
Partially-linked	110.37 +0.34%
Dollar-linked Bonds	93.74 +0.24%
Short-term 0-2 yrs	108.77 +0.43%
Medium-term 2-5 yrs	109.36 +0.07%
Long-term 5+ yrs	105.14 +0.16%

## Turnovers:

Share - total	NIS 7,247,400
Arrangement	NIS 1,673,800
Non-bank	NIS 5,573,600
Bonds - total	NIS 4,313,300
Index-linked	NIS 2,863,900
Dollar-linked	NIS 1,179,300
Treasury Bills	NIS 3,892,400

## Share Movements:

Advances	148 (114)
Declines	22 (16)
of which 5+ "buyers only"	0 (1)
of which 5+ "sellers only"	4 (7)
Unchanged	118 (84)
Trading Halt	49 (54)

## Bond Market Trends:

Index-linked	3% fully-linked
Mixed	to 1-2%

4.25% fully-linked	80% linked	Rises to 0.5%
Double-linked	Dollar-linked	Stable to 3%
Admon	Rimon	Rises to 3%
Gilboa	For Curr.	Rises to 1%
denominated	Treasury Bills	Stable to 1%
(annual yield)		18.30-19.25%

## Arrangement yields:

IDB 0.1	15.89%
Union 0.1	15.41%
Discount A	15.79%
Mizrahi r.	15.94%
Hapoalim r.	15.65%
General A	16.00%
Leumi stock	16.65%
Fin. Trade 1	15.12%

## SELECTED PRICE QUOTATIONS

Name	Price	Volume	%
Commercial Banks			
(part of "arrangement")			
Manulife	1091	339	+0.1
General non-arr.	22200	16	+0.5
First Int'l	3535	1328	+2.0
FIB	4043	2115	-

Commercial Banks			
(part of "arrangement")			
IDB	78250	272	-0.7
Union 0.1	68340	52	-
Discount	101100	420	-
Mizrahi	32580	464	-0.9
Hapoalim r.	53550	709	-0.6
General A	137000	5	-1.4
Leumi 0.1	34200	9	-0.8
Fin. Trade	45900	-	-

Mortgage Banks			
Leumi Mort.	4840	70	-0.2
Dev. Mort.	1945	282	-
Mishkan r.	2173	230	+1.5
Tefahot r.	13030	88	-
Morav r.	5245	144	+0.5

Financial Institutions			
Agria C	no trading		
Ind. Dev. DD	no trading		
Clal Leasing 0.1	16200	60	-

Insurance			
Ararat 0.1 r	1000	2390	-4.8
Hessneh r	254	18674	+0.4
Phoenix 0.1	780	3558	-
Heimshmar	7313	34	+0.2
Menorah 1	5212	150	-8.9
Safar r	9250	-	-
Zion Hold. 1	-	-	-

Trade & Services			
Melzi Ezra	7910	908	+4.2
Supernol 2	5680	844	-
Delta r	4200	2638	+1.9
Lightstar	14570	20	+1.4
Cold Storage	1898	450	+5.0
Dan Hotels	1653	-	-4.5
Yarden Hotel	2989	67	+2.7
Hilton 1	20800	92	-1.9
Team 1	1790	801	+0.7

Real Estate, Building and Agriculture			
Azorim	690	4525	+1.5
Elion	no trading		
Africa Int. 0.1	34300	15	+0.6
Daniel	500	507	-
Prop. & Bldg.	2555	1729	-0.7
BaySide 0.1	3851	130	-0.6
ILDC r	50900	95	+0.8
Rasco r	no trading		
Mehadrin	752	499	-
Hadarim	1189	1010	-

Industrials			
Dubak 0.1	3270	981	-0.8
Pr-Ze 1	1400	1697	+4.5
Sunroast	9255	764	-10.0
Elita	16800	235	+1.2
Adgar	1358	2758	-
Argaman r	12800	7	-1.5
Delta G 1	2750	773	-1.8
Maqatta 1	3540	331	-

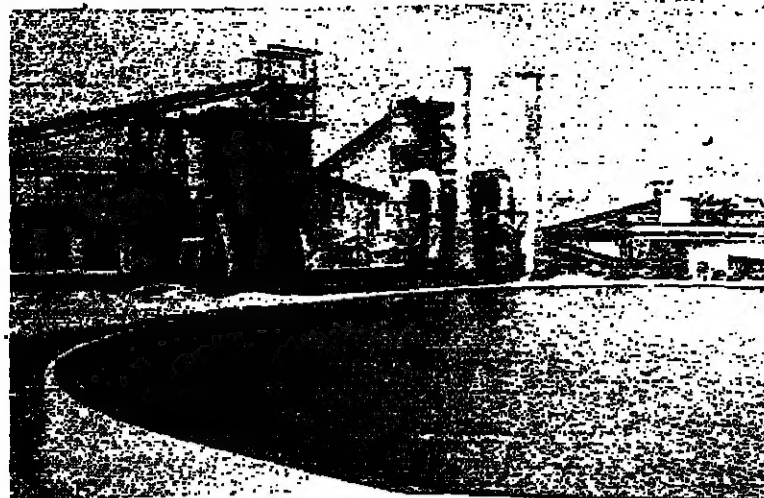
Single 1	3530	871	-0.9
Ararat 0.1 r	13140	141	-
Schoellera	3180	1004	+2.6
Rogovin	7555	140	-
Urban 0.1 r	2340	1207	-
Is. Can Co. 1	2164	752	+3.0
Zion Cables	12520	134	-
Peter Steel	333000	14	-
Elbit	-	-	-

Elron	263500	7	-
Art	24800	205	-4.2
Clal Electronics	1715	1080	+0.8
Spectronix 1	1730	1233	-4.9
T.A.T. 1	3630	598	+10.0
Acherstein 1	940	1893	-1.8
Agan 5	17800	109	-1.1
Alliance	2550	188	+1.3
Dexter	4853	s.o.1	-5.0
Hapoalim r	4049	32	+4.3
Haifa Chem.	551	8838	-3.8
Teva r	6300	1080	-1.0
Dead Sea r	4310	2429	-0.1
Petrochem	7310	547	+4.0
Neca Chem.	2990	210	-
Frutarom	12900	22	+0.7
Hadera Paper	22000	8	-
Central Trade	7310	445	-
Koor P	5410000	0	+2.4
Clal Inds.	1202	4647	-

Investment Companies			
IDB Dev. r	3890	755	-
Elion	3168	1185	-
Elm	243	6885	+5.2
Gahelet	1338	108	-4.3
Israel Corp. 1	8020	170	-
Wolfson 1 r	113000	-	-
Hapoalim Inv.	5940	1118	-
Leumi Invest.	no trading		
Discount Invest.	2255	5195	-
Mizrahi Invest.	14800	3	-
Clal 10	850	7853	+3.4
Landeco 0.1	6002	s.o.2	-5.0
Pama 0.1	10400	317	+3.0

Oil Exploration			
Paz Oil Expl.	15230	40	-1.3
J.O.E.L.	2305	2245	-1.5

Abbreviations:			
s.o. sellers only	b buyers	r registered	
b.o. buyers only			



Negev Phosphates' Zin plant: Rising costs and a weak market are forcing cutbacks.

## Souring markets

## Negev Phosphates expects to post loss

By LIORA MORIEL

Jerusalem Post Reporter

DIMONA — For the first time since 1972, Negev Phosphates Ltd., a unit of state-owned Israel Chemicals Ltd., expects to show a yearly loss.

"We can't predict how big the loss will be," said Managing Director Daniel Yakir. "But we'll have no choice but to streamline operations."

For the previous financial year, which ended March 31, the company's board of directors recently approved a balance sheet showing a profit of \$1 million, down sharply from the \$12m. registered in the 1984/85 year. The declining profitability and forecasted losses were largely due to factors beyond the company's control, Yakir said.

"Our [production and sales] performance this year was not bad," he told reporters on a press tour last week. "We increased production by 125,000 tons from the previous year to 2.43 million, while exports rose by 160,000 tons to 2.28 million."

But, Yakir said, export incentives offered by the government had declined with the onset of the economic stabilization programme launched in July 1985, while the cost of rail transportation rose. The price of fertilizer, the principal end-product of phosphates, has fallen world-wide this year.

The frozen shekel-dollar exchange rate — another consequence of the stabilization programme — has hurt export profitability, Yakir noted. In total, operating costs soared some 20 per cent this year.

The prospects for this year are not much better. "Grain surpluses in the U.S. mean that sowing levels will be down to half of what they were last year," Yakir explained. "There will be great pressure [on American

phosphate producers] to export. Until now, the U.S. only supplied its own needs."

Although Yakir stressed that the problems besetting the world phosphate market were short term and that the company could expect a return to profitability in two to four years, he said cutbacks were essential. Some 25 per cent of the sub-contracted day labourers used by Negev Phosphates would be let go and the policy of busing workers to their jobs at company expense would be reviewed, he said.

The company also faces the prospect of spending some \$2m. to move its offices for the second time in recent years. After spending \$3m. to transfer its headquarters from Tel Aviv to Beersheba, Negev Phosphates was recently instructed by the government to pick up and move to Yeroham.

The move is aimed at boosting employment in the troubled Negev development town, but Yakir said his company did not want to pick up the tab for the move.

Another government decision, which Yakir opposes, is to separate the management and production of Rotem Fertilizers, another Israel Chemicals subsidiary, from Negev Phosphates. Its production facilities are currently fully integrated and Rotem uses staff seconded by Negev Phosphates.

The government's view is that Rotem can operate more efficiently as a wholly independent subsidiary of Israel Chemicals, a view Yakir said he did not fully agree with.

In any case, if Rotem goes it alone, there will be layoffs at Negev Phosphates. Yakir estimated he might have to let go as many as 300 of the company's 1,400 employees.

## ISRAEL MONEY MARKETS

SHEKEL INTEREST RATES				
PRIME BORROWING RATE: 1.25% per month				
Unlinked Deposit (Annual Rates)				
	Last Updated	Tapes	Pakam 7-Day	Pakam 30-Day
LEUMI	1.10	7-15.00%	8-15.25%	9-18.00%
HAPOALIM	25.9	8-15%	10-15.75%	12-14.50%
DISCOUNT	21.9	8-17%	8-17%	8-17.50%
MIZRAHI	8.5	8-16%	8-15%	8-17%
FIRST INT'L	23.7	8-15%	7-17%	8-17%

Rates vary according to size of deposit. (Tapes: demand deposit paying daily interest. Pakam: fixed-term deposit available from 7 to 55 days.)

PATAH — FOREIGN CURRENCY DEPOSIT RATES (October 1)				
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